

# THE BARNES REVIEW

... TO BRING HISTORY INTO ACCORD WITH THE FACTS

*In the Tradition of the Father of Historical Revisionism, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes*

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# PERSONAL FROM THE EDITOR

**T**he fear that the enemies of truth and justice have instilled into the American body politic is truly amazing to behold. What's more, the ability of the establishment regime to destroy the lives, fortunes and very existence of political dissidents with impunity can only lead one to believe that the regime we are forced to live under is revolutionary in every sense of the word, and that our present state of government and culture is a mere consolidation of complete power by the revolutionaries of the left.

Populists have already begun to learn that the system currently in command is beginning a greater and more complete crackdown on intellectual dissent. The regime exists by enforcing a rigid set of historical myths as fact, and the very thought of rejecting them is sufficient for one to lose one's job or reputation. The simple fact to remember is that the state of intellectual terror is the necessary precedent for the state of physical terror.

As part of TBR's campaign for the truth as regards the alleged Jewish Holocaust, we sent copies of our "All Holocaust" issue to major political players in the American political culture—so-called thought leaders. Included on our list were opinion molders Paul Weyrich, Ed Feulner, Mona Charen, Bob Novak, Juan Williams, Paul Craig Roberts, Michael Kinsley, the Cato Institute, the Holocaust Museum, Suzanne Fields, Donald Lambro, Emmett Tyrell, Katherine Meyer Graham, *The New York Times*, the History Channel, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Frank Gaffney, Jack Anderson, Ben Wattenberg, Irving and William Kristol, Joe Sobran, David Gergen, Alan Greenspan, Rush Limbaugh, Tony Snow, William Raspberry, E.J. Dionne, Jr. and dozens of others—200 in all.

The results were predictable: We received no response whatever. These people are not truly independent thinkers; they are merely posturing, gutless wonders. Many tried to make believe they were no longer at their addresses. We were a little surprised to find that we did not even receive any hate mail. The reason for the silence? What else but cowardice and intellectual terrorism. Republican America is no more. Alien bankers, capitalists, leftist thugs, the tax exempt foundations, and violent and semi-civilized minorities have all been mobilized at one level or another to destroy the social fabric of American society. At present their preferred method to enforce their will is intellectual terror. Soon, it will be physical. Why are there more than 33 agencies of the federal government who are armed? Governmental terrorism. Waco, out-of-control SWAT teams, IRS actions against patriots and other incidents too numerous to list here are only a foretaste of what is to come unless the trend is stopped.

Even more frightening is the response to the obvious state of intellectual martial law imposed upon the American administrative unit of the New World Order. The white American middle class members are lemmings—politically inert, completely clueless and off balance. Many of those who do sense that something ominous is going on are, like the "thought leaders," too scared to take decisive action. The near-complete lack of organized resistance has many feeling that the war is lost and Western civilization is finished. Many feel that the theoretical possibility of getting rich off the stock market or the lottery is payment enough for their surrender of their birthright. One thing concerned patriots can count on, as the noose tightens around our necks, is the complete lack of resistance from the middle classes or the establishmentarian "right wing," the latter long bought off by the billionaire plutocrats and Zionists who control the former American republic.

We here at TBR, however, are not frightened. The truths we report are a threat to the system, pure and simple, because the establishment regime is based on lies. Nor will we go away, as, evidently, the establishment would like to hope. The regime and its academic lackeys have been exposed as frauds, and their intellectual assumptions as a house of cards, and thus the establishment now feels the need to enforce its perverse world view, justifiably confident of middle-class compliance and media support.

History is not made by majorities. History is made by small but highly motivated minorities, natural aristocracies of conscience, who rouse the slumbering masses out of their habitual political inertia to bigger and better things. TBR seeks to be a small part of this aristocracy, and we will not be daunted by officially sponsored intellectual and physical terror from the sick and decadent American ruling class.

Intellectual terrorism is often an antecedent to physical terrorism. Don't think it can't happen here; it already is starting to happen. The ultimate result, unless something is done, will be a Soviet-style dictatorship. It is up to you and me. ♦

## THE BARNES REVIEW

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# EDITORIAL

## *HISTORICAL TRUTH UNDER FIRE IN AMERICA*

Some people, among them members of the academic community, agree with and read *THE BARNES REVIEW*, a scholarly yet popular journal dedicated to telling the truth about history. Other people who may disagree with some of those historical views read TBR as a way of keeping informed on current trends in Revisionist thinking. As we understand the inherent human right to freedom of the press (guaranteed in the First Amendment), every American has a right to be able to read what appears in these pages.

We believe librarians have a responsibility to make information sources available to the public, regardless of their personal views on political or other matters. The American Library Association (ALA) affirms the following as part of its Library Bill of Rights:

**Books and other library resources should be provided for the interest, information and enlightenment of all people of the community the library serves. Materials should not be excluded because of the origin, background, or views of those contributing to their creation.**

**Libraries should provide materials and information presenting all points of view on current and historical issues. Materials should not be proscribed or removed because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval.**

**Libraries should challenge censorship in the fulfillment of their responsibility to provide information and enlightenment. Libraries should cooperate with all persons and groups concerned with resisting abridgment of free expression and free access to ideas.**

We at *THE BARNES REVIEW* certainly agree with the official position of the ALA. But we live in trying times, when some librarians are all too prone to knuckle under to the tyranny of “political correctness” and to try to keep TBR off their shelves, even when a patron has donated the subscription to the magazine. TBR is currently fighting the public library in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania for that very reason. Readers may wish to check to see that a similar situation does not exist at their own public library.

Recently we learned of an attempt to ban TBR at a library in Georgia. The patron who donated the subscription strenuously objected to the banning, and with successful results. His story is so interesting that we reproduce it below as a “guest editorial.”

Incidentally, our front cover reflects our editorial theme of freedom of the press. It shows the notorious burning by Redcoats of John Peter Zenger’s dissident newspaper in the Colonial era.

THE BARNES REVIEW is making big waves on the high seas of “political correctness.” Truth in history tends to upset the plutocrats who manipulate what little the public is allowed to know about the facts of history as well as current events. When the news story came out in the now-defunct, killed-by-the-courts *Spotlight* newspaper of the banning of TBR at the Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania public library, we became a bit concerned.

We donated a TBR subscription to the Mary Vinson Memorial

Library in Milledgeville, Georgia in August 2000. A few months prior to that time, we donated a subscription to *The Spotlight* to the same library. It was always on the library rack, so we felt confident that TBR would be safe there. But when we checked all the racks in April 2001, we were perplexed. There was no TBR on any of the magazine racks. Immediately, we consulted a library clerk, who referred us to the head librarian, Lillie Crowe. She said, “We know nothing about a magazine of that name.” She flipped through a card file and added, “We have no record of such a magazine in our files.” We averred that it was very strange, because we had donated a subscription in August 2000, when Craig Amason was the librarian.

When approached about a TBR subscription, Amason initially declined, saying his budget would not allow a subscription at that time. When we offered to make it a donation, however, he gladly accepted. Since he was a history major in college, he was quite amenable to receiving a history magazine. The library clerk in charge of magazines said, “Nothing is banned other than pornography.” Ms Crowe suggested we call TBR to verify the correct address. We departed from the library determined to solve the mystery. We consulted the local office of the U.S. Postal Service and inquired if they could determine if the magazine was coming through their office, but the postal clerk said there was no way to verify the matter.

We called TBR and discussed the problem with Elisabeth Carto. She verified the address and suggested we call Michael Collins Piper, who was helping TBR with the Wilkes-Barre case.

Next we called Mr. Piper and related the problem to him. He described the case at Wilkes-Barre and intimated that the situation at the Mary Vinson Memorial Library seemed similar. He suggested it might be a good idea to show the librarian the *Spotlight* account of the Wilkes-Barre case. We did so, and pointed out that this was a very serious First Amendment issue.

After a lapse of a few days, we made a return visit to the library to check up on the matter. And to our surprise, the May/June issue of TBR was on one end of a rack, with three different issues of *The Spotlight* on the other end. Interestingly, or perhaps ironically, *The Jewish Georgian* occupied the center, between *The Spotlight* and TBR.

Speaking of history, Mary Vinson was the wife of Carl Vinson, U.S. congressman from Baldwin County, Georgia for many years. And Milledgeville was the ante-bellum capital of Georgia, and along the path of Gen. William T. Sherman’s rapine “March to the Sea” at Savannah.

Our concern here is to maintain a space in the library for truth in history and truth in current news. As of this writing, the July/August issue of TBR remains on the rack, along with the final edition of *The Spotlight*. The TBR subscription renewal, now due, has been submitted. We continue to monitor the situation periodically.

—EDWARD G. BUTLER





## ***THE DEVIL & DANIEL WEBSTER***

*This line drawing by Harold Denison was created for a story by Steven Vincent Benet known as The Devil and Daniel Webster. Basically it was a Faustian tale, with a farmer being tempted by the devil. The farmer wanted to have big harvests, buy more land, make more money, etc. While Webster is the hero of this fictional story, saving the farmer's soul in unearthly court (shown above), in real life, judging from some of his actions, it appears he may have been on friendlier terms with "Old Scratch" than in the well-known tale.*



# THE MAINE NORTHEAST BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY & THE TREASON OF DANIEL WEBSTER

BY STEPHEN J. MARTIN

*In 1839, the United States was nearly drawn into her third major war within 60 years against Great Britain. But instead, the “Aroostook War” turned out to be a phony war. From a patriotic viewpoint, a real war—for a variety of reasons—probably should have been fought. The horrors of war being what they are, and nearly all of America’s wars having been unnecessary and disastrous to the American people and beneficial only to plutocrats, that remarkable statement requires a careful analysis of the reasons for such an assertion, which the author herein sets forth.*

**T**he Treaty of Paris of 1783, which settled the American Revolution, defined the northeast border between “British America” (now Canada) and the United States as follows:

... by a line drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix from its source directly north to the ... highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence; (then:) from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., the angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the St. Croix River to the highlands; along the said highlands ... to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River. ... [It should be noted that at this time, New Brunswick was part of Nova Scotia.—Ed.]<sup>1</sup>

There seems to have been no great difficulty regarding this description or the intent of the negotiators at the time. But, as the area along the border was very sparsely settled (and indeed is only marginally more populous today) there were few occasions until the 1820s for the nitty-gritty details of treaty interpretation to affect Anglo-American relations very much. Canadian scholar George Classen admits that the British negotiators had an eye to con-

ciliation of the former colonies with the purpose of re-establishing profitable commercial interests, posthaste, while the treaty was being drawn.<sup>2</sup> Classen also is among the first to advance the now widely accepted doctrine that political reunification ought to be a cornerstone of British policies calling for the maintenance of British colonies in North America.<sup>3</sup>

British and Canadian scholars had no difficulty locating where the “highlands” of the treaty were located until long after the War of 1812. That war exposed the weakness of the Treaty of Paris boundary from the British point of view, as the highlands extend very near to the St. Lawrence River—leaving a convenient jumping-off point for invasions of Canada by the United States.

These highlands, as a result of the dastardly Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, now lie totally within Canadian jurisdiction. The fledgling Canadian nation eventually realized also that landward communications between the Maritime provinces and the rest of the nation were also severely hampered by straight-forward interpretations of the Treaty of Paris. Later Anglo-

Canadian statesmen and military authorities became increasingly cognizant of the need to adjust the status quo. Therefore, much was made in subsequent years of the supposed ambiguities regarding these highlands and the “northwest angle of Nova Scotia.” The current northern boundary of the state of Maine is the result of a carefully designed construct by post-War of 1812 Canadian negotiators, including Lord Ashburton. The state of Maine and the United States were thereby duped and deprived (through both ignorance and effective use of propaganda) of 3,207,680 acres of prime timberland and numerous beautiful lakes, swift-flowing rivers and mineral wealth.

Not only was there treasonous perfidy on the part of the American negotiator, Sen. Daniel Webster (and other American politicians), but—as in the case of many of history’s most poignant controversies concerning Great Britain’s relations with other peoples—there is clear evidence of a cover-up involved as well. Maine’s state historian, writing less than 70 years after Webster-Ashburton, bemoans the fact that “... important correspondence of the gov-

ernors of Maine with the State Department in Washington closes abruptly with the year 1839. Inquiry and search at the State House in Augusta have not brought to light the manuscript correspondence of 1840-1842.”<sup>4</sup>

That Webster had done the American people a terrible disservice was not at all apparent in 1842 to the politicians and concerned citizens of Maine. Many Mainers saw the Webster-Ashburton Treaty as a disturbing but necessary political compromise. Largely as a result of Webster’s “success” in giving Maine 7/12ths of what was hers, his reputation was expanded from being merely a great orator. His legacy has been bequeathed to us as including the attributes of an astute and clever statesman as well. Only the first half of these accolades are justified in connection with “Black Daniel.”

It is to Gen. Winfield Scott (of later Civil War fame) that credit—such as it is—for American avoidance of war in the late 1830s must go. Many folks nowadays erroneously assign the role of “peacemaker” to Webster, but it was the future commander in chief of the Union forces at the outbreak of the War between the States who quelled the military movements and petty disturbances known collectively as the “Aroostook War.”

A brief chronology of these disturbances is needed to set the historical framework. Predictably, establishment historians have failed to stress many key markers in unraveling the truth surrounding this significant border dispute.

With the close of the War of 1812, the

British and American negotiators at Ghent were not prepared or commissioned to re-delineate the border. However, it was at this time that the British first began to suggest a “revision” or “variation” in the northeast boundary that would “secure a direct line of communication between Quebec and Halifax.”<sup>5</sup> The American commissioners rightfully and forcefully objected, and a *status quo ante bellum* was declared on Christmas Eve, 1814. “A commission to study and settle disputed points of boundary between the United States and British provinces” was the only positive action taken under the Treaty of Ghent.<sup>6</sup>

These new British commissioners were made aware—before commencing negotiations—of the important military implications of allowing the traditional location of the highlands to stand. Lt. Gov. Carleton realized “on strict inquiry,” that the Temiscouata highlands were “justifiedly the letter of the Treaty [of Paris].”<sup>7</sup> Yet, the British began a carefully designed subterfuge anyway to force a “compromise” upon the Yankees.

In point of fact, military/strategic considerations also assume additional color when examined in light of the timber trade. The best mast poles had long since been cleared from royal lands throughout the easily accessible parts of Atlantic Canada. The remaining stands of old-growth trees suitable for use by the Royal Navy were contained within the disputed territory—which (the British now began to claim) consisted of nearly everything north of Bangor. The Aroostook War, which was essentially a logger’s dispute initially, quickly began to take on ramifications of

geopolitical significance.

The commissioners for both countries met in St. Andrew’s, New Brunswick in the same year (1817) that a certain John Baker became the first American settler in the upper reaches of the St. John River Valley just to the west of Madawaska. (Madawaska was settled by some of those “French neutrals” or “Acadians” who had been the victims of earlier British outrages when they were harried illegally out of their ancestral lands on the Nova Scotian peninsula beginning in 1755.) The commissioners met sporadically over the next five years without reaching an amicable solution.<sup>8</sup>

The commission’s admission of failure in 1822 (two years after Maine became a state separate from the mother state of Massachusetts) returned the border dispute to a condition of uncontrolled flux. The subsequent years were characterized by incursions by Canadian logging crews, relatively toothless resolutions by the Maine Legislature to protect her sovereignty over the northern reaches, and mutual recriminations back and forth across the undisputed sections of the border. In 1827, Baker and a small group of U.S. settlers attempted to raise the American flag in the Madawaska region. When he refused to lower it upon the orders of a New Brunswick official on the scene, he was arrested and carted off to jail in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Strictly speaking, this could be considered the starting point of the “war.”

The governor of Maine protested to the federal authorities, who procured Baker’s release. In 1828, a strong federal garrison, which never sent a soldier to the “war,” was established at the young border town of Houlton, Maine. The Aroostook War was carefully kept by higher authorities on both sides of the Atlantic to a Maine v. New Brunswick dispute. Thus, the Houlton garrison (manned at times by later Civil War heroes such as Irwin McDowell, Joseph Hooker and John B. Magruder<sup>9</sup>) served merely to prevent an outright occupation of northern Maine by New Brunswick during the dispute.

Eventually—over the vehement protests of the Maine Legislature—the dispute was consigned to the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands, who rendered a decision in 1831, which was rejected by

## U.S.-CANADA BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of August 9, 1842, signed by Britain, settled the northeast boundary of the United States, which had been in dispute and a cause of unrest. The treaty ended border incidents in that area and also ended a popular American hope of freeing Canada from Great Britain. However, the Canada-U.S. boundary in the far west remained unresolved. In 1844, the famous political phrase, “Fifty-four forty or fight,” was adopted as a campaign slogan by forces supporting James K. Polk for the presidency. Polk was elected, but there was no fight. On June 15, 1846, the Oregon Treaty was signed, establishing the boundary, as a “compromise,” at the 49th parallel between the United States (Idaho, Oregon and Washington, and parts of Montana and Wyoming) and what was then called the British Northwest Territory. Britain had previously offered to make the 49th parallel the boundary, but the U.S. government initially rejected that offer. A subsequent boundary dispute, involving Alaska, was similarly resolved without bloodshed.



Maine. Fortunately, Maine had retained veto power over these negotiations, which were initiated by Washington, D.C. Just as unfortunately, as it turned out, they were offered more land by a foreign potentate than they eventually received as a result of the efforts of a next-door neighbor. Maine legislators were correct in their criticisms of the king's position as a virtual vassal of the British sovereign, but they turned out to be seriously deficient in their judgment of the character to whom their dispute was eventually assigned. Senator Daniel Webster (of New Hampshire and Massachusetts) later became John Tyler's secretary of state, and, in this capacity he awarded Maine less under Webster-Ashburton than the Dutch king had determined upon.

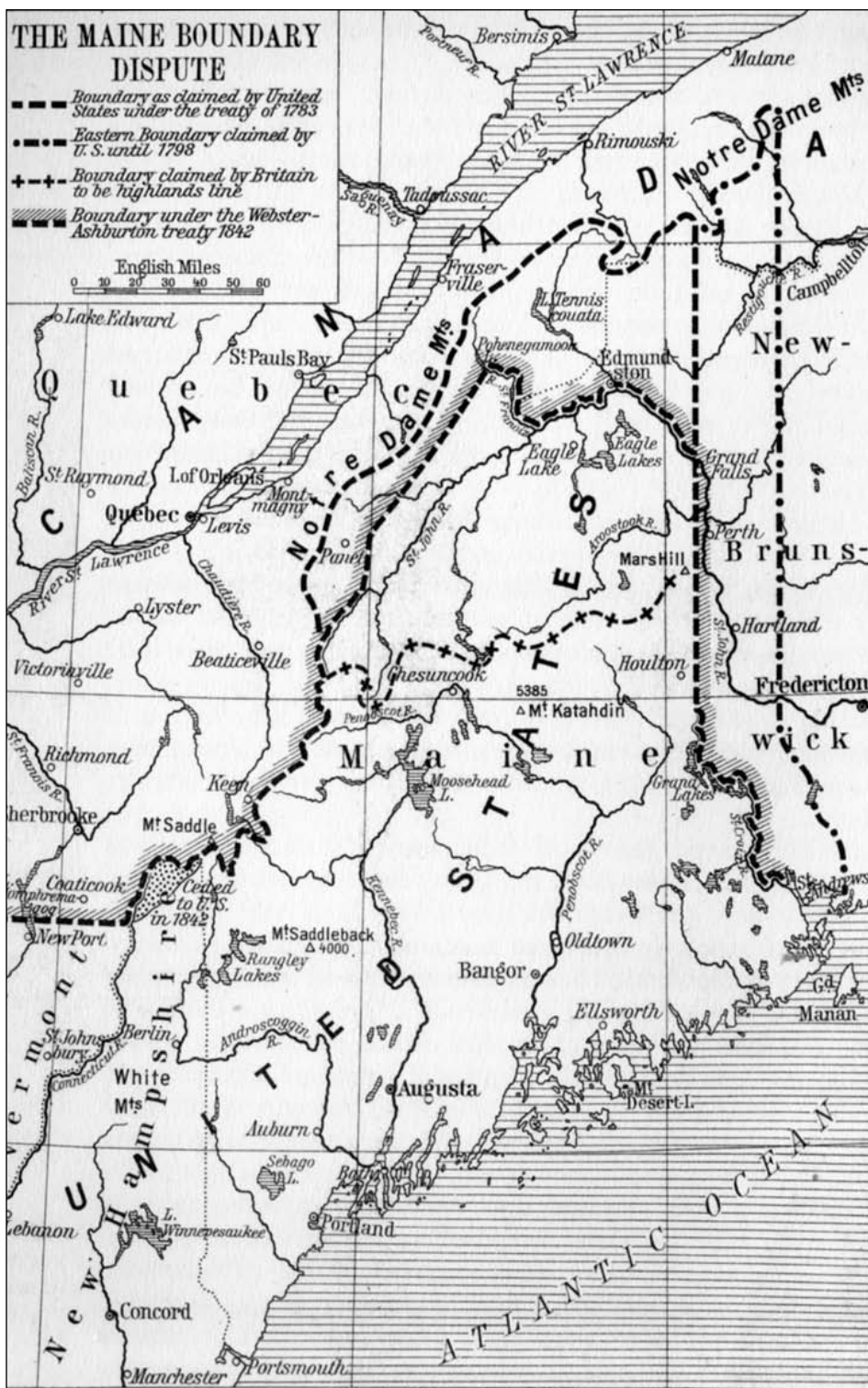
Continued depredations by Canadian logging crews during the 1830s led Maine's first official geologist to conclude that:

The claim set up by Great Britain to more than 10,000 square miles of the territory of Maine, on the plea that the St. John does not empty into the Atlantic, but pours its waters into the Bay of Fundy, and that the chain of highlands designated in the Treaty of 1783, is the range which divides the Penobscot and Kennebec waters from the Allagash and Walloostook is certainly too absurd for serious refutation. . . .<sup>10</sup>

It was about this time, or perhaps earlier, that British commissioners began to seriously suggest that the due north line from the source of the St. Croix River referred to by the Treaty of Paris ought to terminate at Mars Hill, a lonely promontory near the New Brunswick border halfway between Houlton and Presque Isle. No less a reactionary "patriot" than Henry David Thoreau commented on this absurd notion while hiking in western Maine sometime afterward:

I thought that if the commissioners themselves, and the king of Holland with them, had spent a few days here (a boggy lowland along the proposed line of "highlands") looking for that highland they would have had an interesting time, and perhaps it would have modified their views of the question somewhat.<sup>11</sup>

The Canadian rebellions of 1837 led by William Lyon MacKenzie and Louis Joseph Papineau increased tensions all along the border. The U.S. government's refusal to assist the patriots of Canada in a repeat of the republican rebellion of 1776 struck many as strange and even somewhat sus-



The above map shows four of the various boundary lines involved in the Aroostook dispute.

picious. Inexplicably, British troops were allowed uncontested passage over Maine's territory as they traveled from Nova Scotia to quell the republican revolts in Upper and Lower Canada.<sup>12</sup> It became increasingly evident throughout the boundary controversy that the federal government by

this time had become enamored more with economic prosperity and close ties with the bankers of Europe than they were with upholding principle.

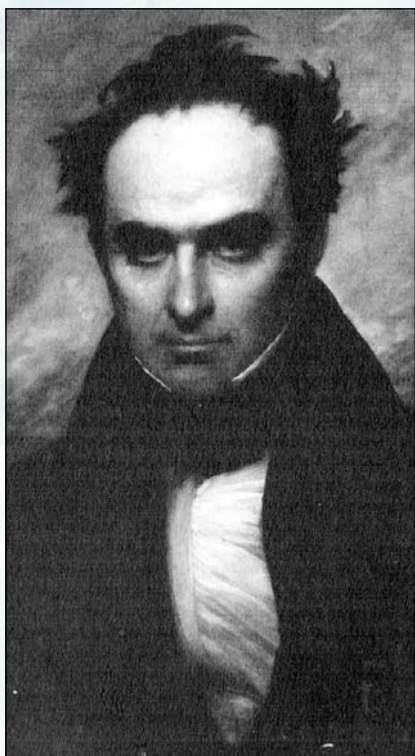
Late in 1838, the state of Maine appointed a land agent to travel through the northern portions of Maine and to report



back on the extent of illicit logging by Canadians. The newly elected firebrand governor, Democrat John Fairfield, had displaced the more cautious Whig Edward Kent, partly as a result of his promises to do something about the dispute. When the agent reported that 200-250 loggers were removing tens of thousands of dollars worth of Maine timber, the Maine Legislature passed a secret resolve, on January 24, 1839, giving the land agent authority to "dispose of all teams, lumber and other materials in the hands and possession of trespassers by destroying the same or otherwise."<sup>13</sup>

The state land agent, Rufus McIntire, subsequently headed north accompanied by a posse of 200 under the Penobscot County sheriff and Capt. Rines of the state militia. The Canadian lumbermen then took matters into their own hands: They raided the armory at Woodstock, New Brunswick, and, returning to the Aroostook River, surprised the leaders of the posse in their beds. McIntire and four others were seized, and most of them ended up in the Fredericton jail. This led to mutual recriminations of the most severe type. British regulars were called to the support of the New Brunswick authorities, and the Maine Legislature authorized the expenditure of \$800,000 and the mustering of 10,000 militiamen to support Maine's sovereignty.<sup>14</sup> Hundreds of militiamen were rushed to the vicinity of McIntire's seizure (thus came the founding of Fort Fairfield, Maine) in support of the civil posse.

Both Maine's Gov. Fairfield and New Brunswick's Gov. Harvey appealed to their superiors. A joint statement from Henry Fox, England's minister to Washington, and American Secretary of State John Forsyth urged the Americans to remove their forces from the "disputed territory" in return for a British promise to keep the regulars to the north and east of the St. John River. In an era when state's rights still meant something, this pompous pronouncement from Washington, D.C. was ignored by Fairfield, while the federal Congress reproached Forsyth by voting overwhelmingly to support Maine by further authorizations of troops and materiel. Fairfield's intransigence at this juncture was, undoubtedly, duly noted by Washington's anglophiles such as Webster and President Martin Van Buren.



*This is the so-called "Black Dan" portrait of Daniel Webster by Francis Alexander in 1835, about the time of the Aroostook War. Webster, it seems, although hailed by some as a "godlike man," took bribes to compensate him for his role in the giveaway of vast lands and resources in America's northeastern corner.*

At this point, Gen. Scott was hastened to Maine with instructions to attempt the peaceful resolution of the impending conflict. Arriving in early March of 1839, he had a difficult time at first dispelling the notion among the citizenry that he came as the avenging angel to drive the British from their territory once and for all. Scott was chosen primarily because of his amicable relations with Gov. Harvey. The two had served opposite each other in the Niagara campaign during the War of 1812.<sup>15</sup> Scott had earned Harvey's undying respect by returning a porcelain doll replica of Harvey's wife that Harvey had left behind after his escape back across the British lines after having been captured and briefly interned by American troops.<sup>16</sup>

Scott cajoled the Mainers to accept the removal of the militia, leaving only a small civil posse behind, in return for Harvey's promise that his government would not

"seek to take military possession of that territory, or to seek, by military force, to expel therefrom the armed civil posse. . . ."<sup>17</sup> Scott had met his objective, and the immediate crisis was dispelled. The truce was not the same as a permanent peace, however. The posse, left temporarily unmolested, took advantage of the lull in oversight to send a contingent down the Fish River, where they erected a strong blockhouse on the confluence of the St. John River. This was the founding of Fort Kent, Maine. The British authorities howled like mad over this supposed rupture of the agreement between Scott and Harvey.

In November of 1840, feisty John Baker, supported by Rines, held a town meeting in Madawaska to set up the voting for the presidential election. A Canadian magistrate named Rice attended and protested that the meeting was "unlawful, illegal and uncalled for." Rice was forcibly removed from the meeting, and Harvey insisted that strong blockhouses be built across from both the major American posts in the St. John Valley. In April of 1841, Baker was once again arrested, this time for "enticing several of her majesty's troops in Madawaska to desert to the American side."<sup>18</sup>

In June, Tyler's secretary of state, Webster, suggested that the civil posses would be replaced by small contingents of federal troops, "it being understood that the detachments of British troops will be continued in their present position" opposite the American posts.<sup>19</sup> This brought immediate protests from Lord Palmerston, but the troops arrived on schedule at Fort Kent in September. These continued irritations led both governments to decide upon negotiations to resolve the entire scope of remaining boundary disputes from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The negotiators chosen for the task were, of course, Webster and his dear friend Lord Ashburton. Ashburton's given name was Alexander Baring, and he was chief officer and majority stockholder of the famous Baring's Bank. Webster had been on the bank's payroll since 1831.<sup>20</sup> Canada's Prof. Classen admits that British officials were greatly relieved at the choice of Webster. In the spring of 1839, while the crisis in Maine was at its peak, Webster had been Ashburton's guest during the American's lengthy sojourn in England.

Classen states that “this helped to turn him into something of an anglophile.”<sup>21</sup> In addition, Ashburton’s connections both with Maine and with America’s prosperous anglophile elites were quite extensive and of a long duration.

Alexander Baring had first come to America in 1795, where he was met and entertained by Gen. Henry Knox, who owned 2 million acres of land in southern Maine. Baring ended up purchasing half of those lands, which he held throughout the rest of his life. He also became a regular visitor at the home of Sen. William Bingham. On August 23, 1798, Baring married Anne Bingham, and four years later his younger brother Henry married her sister, Maria Bingham.<sup>22</sup> Lord Ashburton’s alliance with the “upper crust” of the mid-Atlantic region led eventually to the ultimate coup: the landing of the account of the Bank of the United States by Baring’s Bank.<sup>23</sup>

After Andrew Jackson successfully reined in the anti-democratic and largely British-controlled Second Bank of the United States during the 1830s, it was Webster who—working with another close friend named Nicholas Biddle—did his level best to get the bank rechartered, against the wishes of the American people. Even though the firm of N.M. Rothschild took over the account of the Second Bank in 1835,<sup>24</sup> Webster continued to collect his retainer throughout the period of his border “negotiations” with his boss. It is reported that he also collected an unusually substantial sum from the Barings during the height of the border crisis in 1839.<sup>25</sup> Sydney Nathans in his 1973 book titled *Daniel Webster and Jacksonian Democracy* makes it exceedingly obvious that, enduring popular impressions to the contrary, Webster was never a friend of the people.

It was Sen. Webster (a director of the Boston branch of the Second Bank of the United States<sup>26</sup>) who, in the early days of 1838, urged Nicholas Biddle “to step up the (Second) Bank’s economic squeeze”—which had been the real cause of the Panic of 1837 to begin with. At the same time, Webster was urging a Senate inquiry into the causes of the panic with the intent of blaming the Jackson administration. Most establishment historians continue to blame Jackson’s anti-bank policies and his famous “specie circular” for the panic, but

Nathans makes it clear that it was a crisis manufactured by the banking interests with the ultimate goal of discrediting Jacksonian democracy and rechartering the bank.<sup>27</sup> It was also Webster who reined in the democratic tendencies of the Anti-Masonic Party. Nathans credits Webster for this by saying it was he who “contained Anti-Masonry.”<sup>28</sup>

Elevated to the Department of State by the Whig victory of 1840, Webster was, during the 1840s, ideally situated to put his aristocratic and anglophilic tendencies to good use. In an important and rare volume titled *The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance*, author Ralph Hidy discloses the extraordinary degree of faith the Barings had in Biddle and Webster.<sup>29</sup> Webster was continually being advised by Barings officials as to the proper course which America ought to follow in order “to rejuvenate American banks and currency.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, had Webster done nothing else to deserve condemnation over his negotiations for the northeast boundary other than to fail to disclose his own serious conflict of interest, he would still have been open to excoriation. But plenty of other nefarious actions were involved.

Various writers concur that Webster’s view of the northern third of Maine was that it was just so much wasteland which could conveniently be sacrificed to the greater good of improving relations with Merrie Olde England. The resumption of the flow of credit from England was far above any concern for American honor in his esteem. In order to push his plan for concessions on the part of Maine in return for a resolution of the conflict, Webster spent thousands of dollars from a secret State Department account to bribe Maine newspapermen to drop their antagonistic editorial stances toward yielding territory.<sup>31</sup> Worst of all, Webster produced a map in front of the recalcitrant Maine politicians which he purported had belonged to Ben Franklin. He claimed it was the very map that had been used during the treaty negotiations of 1783. A bold red line across the middle of the current-day state of Maine had been drawn, Webster claimed, the right-hand point of which served as the indicator of the “northwest angle of Nova Scotia.” The same point was, he said, also the terminus of the due north line from the marker in the little town of Amity (the cur-

rent writer’s hometown) which marked the source of the St. Croix.<sup>32</sup> The Mainers were sufficiently cowed by this purported boundary well below even the Mars Hill line (and frightened by Webster’s assertion that the British might find a copy of the map in Paris any day) that they agreed to less land under Webster-Ashburton than even the king of the Netherlands had been willing to grant them 11 years before.

Sen. F.O.J. “Fog” Smith of Maine was complicit in the “red line map” affair. He was taken on by Webster as a secret agent of the State Department and given an advance of \$500 for his part in betraying his own state.<sup>33</sup> Smith’s plan for befuddling the minds of Maine’s people was that “. . . Public sentiment on this matter can be brought into the right shape in Maine by enlisting certain leading men of both political parties (yet not politically) and through them, at a proper time, guiding aright the public press.”<sup>34</sup>

Smith then proceeded to hold conferences with various editors and advanced Webster’s plans in a three-part series of articles he titled, “The Northeastern Boundary—Why Not Settle It?”<sup>35</sup>

Jared Sparks (a Mainer, and later president of Harvard University) had also been sent to Augusta by Lord Ashburton to push concern over the red line map.<sup>36</sup> Sparks had supposedly found the map in the archives in Paris, though, to this day, it has never been proved that any of the negotiators in 1783 had ever used this map for preliminary discussions, let alone as the final trophy of their boundary agreement. Indeed, a copy of Franklin’s red boundary line (which Franklin had mentioned by that exact description in his correspondence) was eventually found in Madrid.

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The map corresponds exactly to the ancient claims by Maine that the Temiscouata highlands were those intended by the commissioners in 1783.<sup>37</sup> Evidence of Ashburton's direct complicity and even bribery in this affair is found in Geraldine Scott's volume, *Ties of Common Blood: A History of Maine's Northeast Boundary Dispute with Great Britain*. The pertinent section is worth quoting in full:

**Gov. Fairfield and the Legislature as a whole were not aware of F.O.J. Smith's collaboration with Webster in the preparation of Maine's public for what would be forthcoming. Lord Ashburton, as well as President Tyler and Secretary of State Webster, had employed funds from secret accounts for propaganda purposes, to expedite a quick settlement. Ashburton gave app. \$14,500 to someone, secretly. He . . . referred to it again in a letter marked "private and confidential."**<sup>38</sup>

Ms Scott quotes the letter as follows:

**The money I wrote about went to compensate Sparks, to send him, on my first arrival, to the governors of Maine and Massachusetts. My informant thinks that without this stimulant Maine would never have yielded.**<sup>39</sup>

In 1846, the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs brought charges against Smith and Webster in connection with using public funds to corrupt the press of Maine. Smith and former President Tyler were forced to testify, but no convictions were brought.<sup>40</sup>

There is evidence that a secret deal had been cut between the British and American

governments in advance of the official opening of negotiations between Webster and Ashburton. Ashburton was in Washington, D.C. for two months, and was cloistered with Webster on several occasions before formal talks began. Gov. Harvey expressed great confidence in his correspondence with other Canadian leaders that the treaty would be resolved in a way favorable to Canadian interests.<sup>41</sup> Somehow Harvey also knew that the U.S. regulars at Houlton would present no threat and that they were not supporting Maine during the conflict.<sup>42</sup>

**T**hose who have studied the aftermath of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty have concluded that we may never know the details of the manner in which Webster secured passage of this deal.<sup>43</sup> As the attitude of Maine statesmen seems to have been universally conditioned by a belief that the Tyler administration was intent upon giving up Maine land in order to appease Great Britain, it is truly amazing that Webster was able to secure their meek surrender. His complete victory is even more impressive given that Mainers had been led also to expect that any land ceded by the federal government would be made up by other cessions of Canadian land elsewhere.<sup>44</sup> This never came about.

The furor among Maine's people once the Webster surrender was announced was further exacerbated when Gov. Carleton of New Brunswick declared publicly that he

and the British negotiators at the time of the Treaty of Ghent all clearly understood that the "northwest angle of Nova Scotia" was indeed far to the north of the St. Lawrence watershed. This was clear in that British commissioners at Ghent had proposed that the United States should cede land north of the St. Lawrence in return for land elsewhere.<sup>45</sup> When Alexander Baring admitted later that he never had the slightest authorization to bargain for one square inch of Canadian soil prior to Webster-Ashburton,<sup>46</sup> Maine citizens were understandably livid.

James Buchanan summed up the prevalent feeling of the people of Maine with an impassioned speech on the floor of the Senate when he said:

**Thus have we yielded to a foreign power that ancient highland boundary for which our fathers fought. Thus has it been blotted out from the treaty which acknowledged our independence. Thus has England reclaimed an important portion of that territory which had been wrested from her by the bravery and the blood of our Revolutionary fathers. . . . On the east, on the north and on the west, Maine is now left naked and exposed to the attacks of our domineering and insatiable neighbor.**<sup>47</sup>

Given that northern Maine is now entirely under the thumb of a Canadian corporation (Irving Corp. of New Brunswick owns over 3/4 of northern Maine), Buchanan's words have a strangely prophetic quality to them. We should have gone to war in 1839. ♦

#### FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup>Classen, 9.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>Burrage, Preface, x.

<sup>5</sup>Classen, 12, 13.

<sup>6</sup>In Melvin 2, 27.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>8</sup>Dietz, 111.

<sup>9</sup>Scott, 325-327.

<sup>10</sup>Dietz, 112.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>12</sup>Melvin 2, 48.

<sup>13</sup>Classen, 49.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 57-59.

<sup>16</sup>Melvin 1, 28.

<sup>17</sup>Classen, 63.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 73-76.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>20</sup>Hidy, 100.

<sup>21</sup>Classen, 77.

<sup>22</sup>Hidy, 29.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>25</sup>Nathans, 190.

<sup>26</sup>Brown, 11.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>29</sup>Hidy, 202, 284-85.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>31</sup>Nathans, 191.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.* [Based on the red line map, Webster argued that his own proposal gave Maine far more land than it was entitled to.—Ed.]

<sup>33</sup>Scott, 279.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, 280.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 281; Bartlett, 180.

<sup>36</sup>Day, 61.

<sup>37</sup>Bartlett, 292.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 286-287.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 292.

<sup>41</sup>Melvin 2, 50.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>43</sup>Melvin 2, 61.; Burrage,

Preface, x.

<sup>44</sup>Day, 44.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>46</sup>Burrage, 334.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 350-351.

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# WHO'S TO BLAME FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FIASCO?

BY HUGH MURRAY

*Searching for employment in the late 19th century, many Irish immigrants in America encountered the sign, "NINA" (No Irish Need Apply).<sup>1</sup> Today, their descendants face much the same discrimination. Of course, now, it is not limited to the Irish—for in America men are routinely denied jobs, promotions, contracts and scholarships because they are of Irish, Italian, English, German or general European heritage. Worse, not only is this discrimination government sponsored, it is performed in the name of "Equal Opportunity." How did this come about? Why do the media prefer to ignore it? Who fostered this discrimination against white men?*

In high school a white boy may be denied entrance into special programs because he is not a preferred minority; or, in some cases, he may be denied because he is not a girl. There are scholarships available, but many cannot be awarded to a white male (for example, Bill Gates of Microsoft was recently lauded by the media for establishing a billion-dollar scholarship program—one in which recipients are restricted to blacks only.)<sup>2</sup> When the teen applies to university, the administration will admit "basically qualified" minorities, but reject better-qualified whites. When applying for jobs, the same discrimination occurs. If the teen finds employment, special, on-the-job training for promotion may be denied him as it is reserved for minorities, even if they are lesser qualified and have been on the job a shorter period of time. Once hired, he may be required to attend "diversity training" sessions, in which he is supposed to confess his alleged guilt of racism and sexism. Simultaneously, he must deny his own experience; he must never reveal the racism and sexism he has suffered. If he does express some of this discrimination that dare not speak its name, he will be judged "racist" and "disruptive."

Consequently, he may face disciplinary action from his employers and hostility from his colleagues. Finally, should he ever head a company, he may be denied many contracts, as they are set-asides, reserved for women and minorities.

How did this systematic discrimination arise? A century ago liberals sought to judge a person without regard to his "race, color or creed." The latter phrase became a mantra of those who struggled for equal opportunity—it was the common litany in American rhetoric until the feminist onslaught of the 1960s made it politically incorrect. Nevertheless, the phrase can still be found, if only anachronistically, as at an NAACP website.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, the words conveyed slightly different meanings during the last century. For example, "color" was more akin to our use of the word "race"—white, black, yellow, brown and red. "Race" at that time was more like today's nationality and ethnicity (the French race, the German race, the Anglo-Saxon race etc). "Creed" was a combination of religion and religious background.

When cities and states began to enact "civil rights" legislation mid-way in the 20th century, many of these laws incorpo-

rated the old phrase into the legislation. Indeed, even the Civil Rights Act of 1964 echoes the old mantra: Most sections of the law forbid discrimination based upon race, color, sex, national origin and religion. The main change in the 1964 act from earlier laws was the criminalization of discrimination based upon sex.

What did it mean to forbid discrimination? From the early days of the 20th century through 1964, most liberals were clear as to what this meant—show no bias against or preference for a person because of his race, sex, religion etc. This was the dominant view. But in the debate over the civil rights bill in 1964 some opponents declared that if passed, it would lead to, among other things: racial quotas and racial balance in the workplace, preferences for blacks over whites in employment, promotion, bank loans etc.<sup>4</sup> Or, as one segregationist roared, the civil rights legislation "will give 'niggers' more rights than whites."<sup>5</sup> But liberals at the time dismissed these assertions as foolish racist fears. On the other side, there were a few on the left like Stanley H. Lowell, chair of the New York City Commission on Human

Rights, who hinted that preferences might be necessary—that “‘colorblind’ civil rights laws have been used at times to defeat integration.” His solution was “seeking a ‘color-conscious approach’—an ‘equalization program’ to overcome the effects of past discrimination.” Similarly, the chairman of the New York State Commission on Human Rights urged “creative interpretation of the law to push positive integration,” rather than merely negative desegregation.<sup>6</sup>

But, in Congress, the debate went otherwise. No senator who favored the civil rights bill spoke up for quotas, “positive integration,” racial balance or preferences for minorities above whites. Quite the contrary. In fact, these were the charges against the proposed legislation made by its opponents—by senators like Republican Barry Goldwater and Democrat Sam Ervin.

Still, it is instructive to recall some of the debate in order to clarify the meaning of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In his special message on civil rights on February 28, 1963, President John F. Kennedy declared, “Our constitution is colorblind.”<sup>7</sup> Martin Luther King, in his speech at the March on Washington in August 1963, dreamt of a day when his children would be judged “by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin.”<sup>8</sup> The Civil Rights Act of 1964 attempted to enshrine these ideals. In the Congressional debate liberal Democratic Sen. Hubert Humphrey declared:

[T]here is nothing in it [the bill] that will give any power to the commission [EEOC, or Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] or to any court to require hiring, firing or promotion of employees in order to meet a racial ‘quota’ or to achieve racial balance. In fact, the very opposite is true. Title VII is designed to encourage hiring on the basis of ability and qualifications, not race and religion.

Other senators favoring the bill like Joseph Clark (D-Penn.) and Clifford Case (R-N.J.) defended it in similar language.<sup>9</sup>

To insure against distortion, two major amendments were incorporated into the bill. Sen. Dirksen amended it so that only “intentional” discrimination would be prohibited, while Sen. John Tower (R-Texas) guaranteed that employers could continue to use, or to institute, professional tests like the General Aptitude Tests, which were

commonly conducted so that businesses could ascertain, hire and promote more able workers.<sup>10</sup> Only with the amendments included were many Northern Republicans, like Everett Dirksen, satisfied with the proposed legislation, and therefore were they willing to break the filibuster of Southern Democrats and vote on the civil rights legislation. With Dirksen’s Republican support, the bill passed and became law in July 1964.

How then did a law which promised to end discrimination by outlawing discrimination against any individual, a law that promised preferences for no group, which agreed to retain testing to reject unqualified applicants—how was this law subverted into its opposite? Here the role of Alfred Blumrosen is crucial. Blumrosen was among the zealots working for the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission who did not want the agency to function as created. Though historian Hugh Graham recognized no “conspiracy” in what occurred, he did consider the change “not a grand design, but an honest groping.”<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, Graham himself writes, “The early EEOC thus functioned as quiet co-conspirators with the agency’s critics on the left.”<sup>12</sup> Graham writes:

To move radically beyond the complaint model, the definition [of discrimination] would have to be extended beyond the INTENT standard of the common law tradition, which was stipulated by Congress in Title VII, toward the EFFECT standard. This would require a shift in criteria from invidious intent on the part of discriminators to harmful impact upon members of the affected class. Such a radical shift was implicit in the newly current metaphor of “institutional racism.”<sup>13</sup>

Alfred Blumrosen was instrumental in this and other shifts. He was a professor at Rutgers University who became the EEOC’s liaison chief for federal, state and local agencies, and he admitted that his “creative” reading of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was “contrary to the plain meaning.”<sup>14</sup> But why worry? By 1965 when the Bank of America instituted quota hiring under a euphemism, “the standard refrain of the EEO bureaucracies, [was that] affirmative action [AA] had nothing to do with racial quotas. That was illegal.”<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, that deceptive refrain is still heard today.

The goal of Sonia Pressman, another ideologue in the EEOC, was “to document

large disparities in employment patterns, [so] that discriminatory intent might legally be inferred.”<sup>16</sup> This would then place the burden of proof on the employer to show that he did not intentionally discriminate.<sup>17</sup> This logic “drove civil rights lawyers toward a model of proportional representation, yet one that seemed to require the disguise of euphemism, because it was statutorily proscribed in the enabling legislation.”<sup>18</sup> What Graham means is that the EEOC sought to impose quotas while not calling them such because quotas were clearly illegal. The agency sought to break the law. Graham adds, “The EEOC’s own official history records with unusual candor the commission’s fundamental disagreement with its founding charter, especially Title VII’s literal requirement that discrimination be intentional.”<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, by 1967 the EEOC “was prepared to defy Title VII’s restrictions”<sup>20</sup> in its march toward imposing quotas.

Blumrosen and Pressman pushed the EEOC to defy the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by imposing quotas, demanding racial balance in the workplace and giving preferences to blacks over whites. Essential to the Blumrosen-Pressman campaign was the collection of statistics to show “disparate impact,” how minorities were under utilized, employed in a smaller proportion in various occupations to their numbers in the general population. Liberal sociologist John Skretny concedes that the major change occurred in March 1966 when the EEOC sent out its reporting forms to the industries to be covered by the Civil Rights law: “Legal scholar and EEOC advisor Alfred Blumrosen instigated the development.”<sup>21</sup> Actually, the forms were sent to many industries beyond the jurisdiction of the EEOC, for the law had given priority to state FEPCs in those states that had them (and in 1964, most states had their own FEPCs).<sup>22</sup> Firms located in such states should have received no EEOC forms. This was another example of Blumrosen’s “creativity,” of going beyond (and defying) the law.

The collection of these statistics was essential to implement the Blumrosen distortion of the law. Blumrosen had developed the theory that would justify all the discrimination against white men to which we have become so accustomed. That theory is based upon a proportional representa-

tion model that includes a number of assumptions. First, all peoples are equally talented in all fields. Though individuals may vary in intelligence, athletic prowess and character, large groups do not. The races and sexes are equally talented in all fields, equally intelligent, equally athletic, of equal character. Any deviation from this article of faith is racist and sexist. Women are just as intelligent, and, given a chance to prove themselves, just as strong as men (though to maintain this credo some liberals will redefine strength to emphasize endurance or areas in which women may outperform men). Blacks have already proven themselves on the athletic fields, and given a fair chance, can be seen as just as intelligent as whites (again some liberals redefine intelligence to include emotional intelligence or artistic ability to emphasize areas wherein blacks may outperform whites). And so the presupposition is made for all large groups—Hispanics, Asians, Amerindians etc.

If all groups are equally talented, then why are white men so dominant in business as CEOs, in government and in academia? The reason must be prejudice, past and present. Because blacks were enslaved and then denied equal educational and other opportunities during the era of segregation, they could not rise to their proper place in government, medicine and business. Women too, were oppressed, even being denied the right to vote for president until 1920 and denied equal rights in other areas until quite recently. And so with other groups. They lag behind in America today because of their history of oppression—racism, sexism, ethnocentrism. The beneficiaries of this oppression were and are white men. Today, the imperative of justice is to break the historic chain by ending the historic advantage inherited by white men.

Since all peoples are equal, it follows that in a just society, all peoples, equally talented in all fields, will each have their proportional share of lawyers, doctors, fire chiefs, criminals. But, as this is clearly not the case in America today, the aim of justice is to strive for such in society. Thus, it is necessary, and fair, to give preferences to groups that have been excluded or underrepresented in various fields. So if a white teen has a higher score than a black teen from the same high school on an SAT for a

scholarship, it is not really discrimination to deny the white that award and give it to the black. It only seems like discrimination; in reality, it is fair and just.

After all, why is the black teen not performing as well as the white on the test? His father may be in jail; his mother on drugs; he may have been discouraged from academic pursuits. His cultural milieu is the heritage of slavery and segregation. The SAT test, far from measuring the intelligence or academic abilities of the two teens, merely measures the privileges inherited by the white. And so the SAT, the LSAT, the medical exams, nursing exams, teachers exams and all other objective exams are objective only in highlighting the degree of prejudice experienced by blacks, women and other minorities. Such “objective” exams are thus objectively racist and sexist.

Similar are police and firefighter exams, even if minorities help to construct the tests. Even drug tests are racist because it is natural that more oppressed minorities might be more prone to use illegal substances. Clearly then, seemingly colorblind objective exams are racist; sex-blind exams are sexist. The only test, the only examination that should be allowed is proportionality. Only when the same proportion of women and blacks and Hispanics do as well as whites on an exam is that examination truly free of immediate bias and the effects of bias past. The proportionality exam thus proves the test for discovering bias, for discovering the measure of bias and the method of overcoming such bias. The proportionality test is the test that tests all other tests. Thus, the white teen and his successor should be denied the scholarship until the black teen, and his successor, have a proportional number attending college, teaching in college and as CEOs.<sup>23</sup>

Clearly, to implement any program based on this theory, Blumrosen and Pressman required the statistics so they could determine proportions of races employed here or unemployed there. Disparate impact and proportionality theory required statistics if it were to become the basis of action by the EEOC. This is why Blumrosen defied the law and got the EEOC to send out forms to collect statistics in spring 1966.

The essential omission missed by almost all historians of civil rights is this—

the forms sent out by the EEOC to collect data originally referred only to race and national origins.<sup>24</sup> Shortly thereafter, they included sex. But the EEOC never inquired about religion or religious heritage. However Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically forbids discrimination based upon race, color, national origin, sex, AND religion.<sup>25</sup> If the data were essential to implement the proportional representation theory of discrimination, the “disparate impact” theory propounded by Blumrosen, if the proportional test was to be THE test to judge oppression and discrimination, why was the data-collection process purposely inadequate? Why were there no questions concerning the religious heritage of those employed? Why did Blumrosen and Pressman NOT want to discover the proportion of their fellow co-religionists working in lucrative occupations? The reason is evident. Such statistics would reveal that it is not white males who are the most overrepresented in lucrative posts (and therefore, it is not white men who are most “oppressive” toward women and minorities). The statistics would have exposed Jews as the most overrepresented—and thus Jews as the most oppressive toward other minorities, women and gentiles. Then, before any attempt to provide preferences for underrepresented blacks or Hispanics by curtailing “white male privilege,” there would have had to have been consideration of providing preferences for underrepresented gentiles and the curbing of Jewish privilege. The theory devised by Blumrosen and Pressman, if applied fairly across the board to all provisions of the civil rights act, would clearly restrict Jews to 2 to 3 percent of the legal, medical, academic, media and other high-paying professions.

In spring 1968, after the EEOC had been sending out its questionnaires on race and national origins, Patrick Moynihan, former assistant secretary of labor under President Kennedy, denounced the policy of proportional representation inherent with the collection of the data. Moynihan recognized the implications and attacked the theory underlying EEOC action as anti-Semitic, seeing that logically Jews would soon be limited to a small percentage of professions.<sup>26</sup> But Moynihan wrongly assumed that the Jews in the EEOC would administer the law impartially—imposing



quotas (goals and timetables) on all over-represented groups and thus most especially, their own. Moynihan should have known better. Blumrosen was set upon “selectively enforcing” the civil rights act by using disparate impact theory and proportional representation only when it affected others. (More accurately, Blumrosen was “selectively malenforcing” the civil rights law, imposing quotas for underrepresented blacks, using quotas to curb whites; for women, against men; but never for gentiles and against Jews.)

Of course, had the EEOC sought to restrict Jews as it has white men, the storm of protest would have cast “disparate impact” theory into the dustbin of history. Thus, the role of Blumrosen and his allies in the media, academia etc., was to create a false target—the “overrepresented,” “privileged” and “oppressive” white male. According to the EEOC, the statistics proved just that. However, the statistics proved otherwise. The partial statistics used by Blumrosen were simply the effort to deflect criticism to another group instead of the one most overrepresented, privileged and oppressive—his own.

By not asking the religious question on the EEOC questionnaires, the EEOC created a scapegoat of the white male. Once smeared as “privileged” and “oppressive,” the non-privileged, working-class and poor whites began to pay the price for the “moral” system of affirmative action by being legally discriminated against and denied equal opportunity.

Note examples of the distortion. Liberals praised President Bill Clinton for his Cabinet that “looked like America.” They should have looked closer. Of the 14 members of his Cabinet in the summer of 1996, eight were white men. As whites were about 76 percent of the national population, those eight white men and two white women compose approximately the “fair share” liberals would allot to whites. But white men are 57 percent of the Cabinet, far more than their 38 percent of the population. Again, just looking at the Cabinet one encounters white male privilege. But look closer. Four of those white males are Jewish. So, white male gentiles, who compose about 37 percent of the population, form only 28 percent of the Cabinet—they are underrepresented. Yet, Jewish males, some 1 percent of the population, compose

another 28 percent of the Cabinet. And because Jews are so vastly overrepresented, the underrepresented white male gentiles are branded by liberal Jews as the “privileged” group.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, gentile white males are called “overrepresented” and deemed worthy of being discriminated against, when they may be underrepresented and, by the liberals’ own standards, “deserving” of affirmative action preferences. However, white male gentiles are denied any aid because liberals consciously ignore their plight by using statistics that include with their group the overwhelming overrepresentation of Jews. Liberals thus camouflage the overrepresentation of Jews by pointing the finger of alleged “white male privilege.” However, what was true of Clinton’s Cabinet is true in medical schools and law schools and other elite areas. No wonder one liberal Jew gloated, “We no longer have a ‘Jewish seat’ on the Supreme Court because it is no longer needed.”<sup>28</sup>

Of course not. The reason: Of the nine justices, two are now Jews. So representatives of 2 percent of the population compose 22 percent of the highest court in the land. Similarly, some liberals complain about there being too few women and minorities in the United States Senate. They forget that both senators from Wisconsin are Jewish men. Thus 100 percent of Wisconsin’s senators come from less than 1 percent of the population. True, a few liberals might complain, but only because it is an all-male delegation. Then consider California’s senators—two female Jews. Naturally, both Sens. Feinstein and Boxer support affirmative action (AA), even though both of them are from the most privileged, most overrepresented group in America.

Another recent example of the hypocrisy and chutzpah related to the selective enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act occurred in 1999. Some Jews at Princeton complained that the university was unfair in its admission policies because Jews constituted a mere 10 percent of the incoming freshmen class, a decline from 16 percent in 1985. Jews compose just above 2 percent of the general population in America. Nevertheless, some Jews asserted that Princeton discriminated against them when that university was compared to other Ivy League institutions like Harvard, where Jews were 21 percent of the fresh-

men, or at Yale, 29 percent. Jews compose 25 percent of the freshmen class at Stanford and other elite universities. Some Jews were so disturbed that they were only 10 percent at Princeton that they claimed discrimination, though they were 4 to 5 times overrepresented.<sup>29</sup> This is not only an example of chutzpah; it is almost a definition.

Liberals use statistics to obfuscate and distort. They seek to portray all white men as privileged because some are overrepresented in profitable enterprises. And because of this “privilege,” preferences must be granted to all those who are not white men. However, the group most overrepresented is not white men, it is Jews. Even economically, the gap between whites and blacks is not as great as that between Jews and gentiles.<sup>30</sup> When liberals assert that the purpose of AA is to narrow the economic gap between blacks and whites, how much greater the necessity for AA on behalf of gentiles to narrow the even wider economic gap between Jews and gentiles. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination based on religion as well as any based on race, sex or ethnic origin. The EEOC and the civil rights lobby stress that the individual is less important than the statistical aggregate in exposing “discrimination”; that statistics are the method of revealing what is wrong in the work place, and, with AA (quotas) goals and timetables, providing the best means of overcoming the discrimination proved by the numbers. Then, by their own system of determining discrimination, it is clear that Jews are the most overrepresented group in the most lucrative positions in the nation. Furthermore, the average income of Jews exceeds that of gentiles by a massive gap. By their own system, the white male ogre should be replaced by the image of the oppressive Jew.

The proportional test, the liberals’ test of all tests, when applied to the religious clause of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, shows Jews to be the most privileged and oppressive of people in America. The favorite test of liberals reveals white men to be less privileged than the Jews. Why does not *The New York Times*, the EEOC, NBC, CBS or ABC report that statistic? The media remain silent on the issue of Jewish privilege while simultaneously exposing every time white men are somewhat over-

represented. Why the silence regarding Jews? A glance at the ownership of the media just might have something to do with this disparity in exposing “privilege.” And if any individual in the media dared to expose some Jewish privilege, there would be a thunderous assault upon that individual’s “bigotry.” However, daily, reporters write of white male privilege, but almost no one denounces this anti-white bigotry.

Concisely, here is the liberals’ dilemma—either white male privilege is a myth and AA, erected upon that myth, should be demolished; or, if white men are privileged, then Jews are even more so. And if, because of white male privilege, AA is essential to aid underrepresented minorities and women (the majority) until they have achieved their “fair share” (quota) of lucrative rewards in society, then because of Jewish privilege, all the more reason to institute AA to aid underrepresented gentiles (again, the majority) until they have achieved their “fair share” of lucrative awards in society.

Once smeared as privileged, the non-privileged middle-class, working-class, and poor whites pay for the “moral” system of AA by being legally discriminated against and denied equal opportunity. But then the history of America since the 1960s is often the record of wealthy liberals using the law to curb and oppress blue-collar whites, because the blue-collar folk are deemed privileged, prejudiced and provincial. Therefore, such blue-collar whites deserve to be passed over in scholarships, jobs and promotions; the blue-collar crowd should be shunted aside, and instead the “pets” of the elite should be elevated: the children of illegal immigrants, of wealthy minorities and the daughters of rich liberals. And this is done in the name of morality, fairness, and justice.

In summary, the great hoax concocted by Blumrosen and his collaborators in the media, academy, and government is “white male privilege.” Most white men are not privileged. Those who are, often support AA because it is no loss to them—their children will not require a scholarship, an entry-level job, a position as policeman or fireman, or a promotion. It is the poor and middle-class whites who, denied equal opportunity, must pay with thinning wallets and shrunken dreams for the “moral-

ty of diversity” imposed by the wealthy, liberal elite.

Even if every CEO in America were a white male, that would be no reason to discriminate against a poor, white teenage boy seeking a scholarship and give it to a lesser qualified girl or minority. “White male privilege” is a social construct created by liberals. They have used their power in government, media, and academia to deny equal opportunity to white men, to undermine and stigmatize America’s working class, and to immobilize with guilt the white middle class. America does not suffer from white male privilege and oppression; it staggers beneath Jewish privilege and oppression. ♦

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Bob Considine, *It’s the Irish* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 5. Almost any work on Irish-Americans will mention the “No Irish Need Apply” phrase.

<sup>2</sup>*The New York Times*, Sept. 16, 1999, 1. Even Asians were excluded from winning this award. Bill Gates not only instituted this hefty scholarship program, but, when affirmative action was up for consideration by the voters of the state of Washington, Gates poured funds into the camp opposed to Ward Connerly and the quest for equal opportunity for all. The ballot proposition was based on the wording of the original 1964 Civil Rights Act. Gates and the wealthy elite opposed the ballot proposition because it would discontinue preferences for their pet groups. Despite the funds contributed by the elite, the people of Washington, like their brethren in California, voted by a wide margin to stop affirmative action preferences.

<sup>3</sup>As of mid-September 2000, the first sentence at naacp.org/labor reads, “Since its founding in 1909, the NAACP has been concerned about the dignity of black workers and their right to equal access to employment without regard to race, color or creed.”

<sup>4</sup>*Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 4, 1964, 5, contains a full page presenting grounds for opposing the proposed civil rights legislation. Alabama Gov. George Wallace, campaigning in the Democratic presidential primary, had accused the paper of cowardice in failing to publish the ad. When it did, the *Sentinel* congratulated itself in the same day’s editorial, 8. The ad was sponsored by the Coordinating Committee for American Freedom, chaired by New Hampshire publisher William Loeb. Wallace ran well in Wisconsin and other Northern states against Lyndon Johnson’s state standards. Wallace used his opposition to the proposed civil rights legislation as one of his main campaign themes.

<sup>5</sup>J.B. Stoner even sought to use this phrase in TV ads in his political campaign in Georgia in the early 1970s. The television stations objected and the issue went to the Supreme Court on use of the “n” word.

<sup>6</sup>*New York Times*, April 3, 1964, 23.

<sup>7</sup>Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960-1972* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 69.

<sup>8</sup>Graham, 91.

<sup>9</sup>Graham, 150-151.

<sup>10</sup>Graham, 149-50. For a lengthier account of the debate, see Charles and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights*

*Act*, Cabin John, Md. & Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press, 1985. Unfortunately, they tend to be skimpy on the arguments by the opponents of the legislation, however.

<sup>11</sup>Graham, 191.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 198. In the 1930s under the New Deal, some agencies did hire using racial quotas, but by the 1940s the leadership of the NAACP generally opposed this concept. See Paul D. Moreno, *From Direct Action to Affirmative Action: Fair Employment Law and Policy in America, 1933-1972*. One might also glance at my “From Communist Policy to ‘Affirmative Action,’” *Telos*, summer 1996, No. 108, 179-88.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 246.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>21</sup>John Skrentny, *The Ironies of Affirmative Action: Politics, Culture and Justice in America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 127.

<sup>22</sup>Graham, 193-97.

<sup>23</sup>Many liberal academics have fleshed out this theory. A few of their works are: Barbara Bergmann, *In Defense of Affirmative Action* (New York: Basic Books, 1996); Gertrude Ezorsky, *Racism and Justice: The Case for Affirmative Action* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Ronald J. Fiscus, *The Constitutional Logic of Affirmative Action* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992).

<sup>24</sup>Konrad Mark Hamilton, *From “Equal Opportunity” to “Affirmative Action”: A History of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1965-1980*, 11, Stanford University Ph.D., 1988, 141. Unfortunately, the doctorate displays the decline of standards at a major university during the era of political correctness. Hamilton, of mixed Black and Japanese ancestry, is an avid supporter of affirmative action. But he allows his political beliefs to distort his historical work. Thus, he dismisses in a few pages the debate in Congress about what civil rights meant and what power the EEOC would have, for to consider the debate might have jeopardized his pro-AA thesis. Hamilton’s dissertation is not merely about AA, it is an example of AA, and is thus an argument against AA.

<sup>25</sup>For a handy review of the various sections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, see the appendices of John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 7th ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994). See page 629 for Title VII and how religion is included among the categories protected by the act.

<sup>26</sup>Hamilton, 143; *The New York Times*, June 5, 1968, 29.

<sup>27</sup>See the author’s letter in *The New Yorker*, January 6, 1997, 6.

<sup>28</sup>Bergmann, 97.

<sup>29</sup>Christopher Jencks, *Rethinking Social Policy: Race, Poverty, and the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 28.

*Hugh Murray, a native of Louisiana, was formerly a civil rights activist. He was arrested in New Orleans’s first lunch counter sit-in, in September 1960. Mr. Murray has published in numerous academic journals and presently resides in Wisconsin.*



# A CHRONOLOGY OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

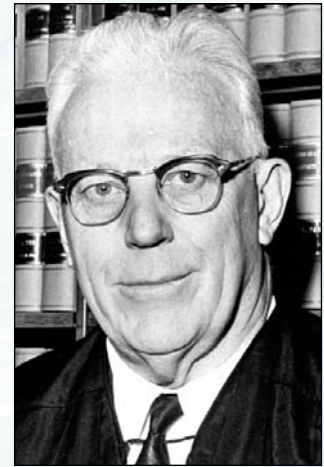
**1954**—*Brown vs. Board of Education*—After making smaller, more restricted decisions on similar issues, the U.S. Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, overturned a half-century of recognizing segregation as legal. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* the Supreme Court had determined on May 18, 1896 that public facilities could remain segregated so long as they were separate but equal. At that time, only one justice, John Marshall Harlan, had dissented—contending that “Our constitution is colorblind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among its citizens.” Following World War II the politics of Justice Felix Frankfurter, and later Chief Justice Earl Warren, were instrumental in persuading the court unanimously to reverse itself and declare segregation unconstitutional. Frankfurter actually conspired with one of the attorneys in the Justice Department, who was presenting a case against segregation. The justice in this case was anything but impartial.

**1955**—The Montgomery Bus Boycott. Throughout the South, many blacks resented what they deemed unfair treatment on public buses and streetcars. In 1953 a bus boycott succeeded in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in winning the right for blacks not to yield seats to white passengers, but blacks would remain in the back of still-segregated buses. In Montgomery, Alabama, in December 1955, seamstress Rosa Parks refused to give her seat in the front of a bus to a white man, and she was arrested. Thus began the Montgomery boycott, which would soon be headed by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Parks had trained for protest in the summer of 1955 at the radical Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. Unlike much of the nation during the Cold War, Highlander was open to communists. Indeed, King would later attend some of its sessions and be photographed there with communist Abner Berry. By December 1956 the Montgomery buses were no longer segregated.

**1957**—The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was passed. To many activists, it was deemed weak and ineffective. Nevertheless, it was the first “civil rights” legislation enacted in the 20th century, due in part to the leadership in the Senate of Texas Democrat Lyndon Johnson.

**1960**—February 1, 1960, students initiated a lunch counter sit-in in Greensboro, N.C., and quickly sit-ins and other protests spread to many Southern communities. Candidate for president John Kennedy telephones Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr. on October 20, 1960. King had been jailed in Atlanta in a civil rights protest. Kennedy telephoned to express sympathy. This probably helped Kennedy garner votes from some black Protestants who, like King’s father, initially favored Nixon in preference to having a Roman Catholic chosen President. In the close election that November, Kennedy’s call may have helped him defeat Nixon.

**1961**—John F. Kennedy was inaugurated. In his speech, he urged, “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask



*By the end of FDR’s long presidency, all nine seats on the court were filled with New Deal liberals such as Felix Frankfurter (left). The court’s left-wing bias was exacerbated in later decades with the appointment of other liberal luminaries like Chief Justice Earl Warren (right).*

what you can do for your country.”

**March 6, 1961**—Kennedy issues Executive Order 10925, which makes the first reference to “affirmative action” in relation to civil rights. But the phrase did not necessarily mean then what it means today. The order also created the President’s Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, headed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson. The committee mandated that projects financed with federal funds “take affirmative action” to achieve hiring practices free of bias. However, affirmative action was required to ensure that citizens were treated “without regard to race, color or creed.” [Graham, 42.] “Nowhere within the liberal establishment circa 1960 was affirmative action interpreted to mean special preferences or compensatory treatment for minorities.” [Graham, 34.] Johnson also proposed that all government contracts include a provision that the employer has an “affirmative duty” to hire and treat workers on the basis of qualifications and not because of their race, creed, color or national origin. [Graham, 39.]

When the Johnson Committee asked federal agencies for a census of their minority employees, the committee discovered such records were often unavailable, especially as many of the more liberal agencies had already adopted a colorblind policy and no longer retained statistics and racial profiles. Johnson demanded a change, and by 1963 federal agencies were again identifying their employees by race. It was noted that blacks, then some 10 percent of the American population, composed 13 percent of the federal work force.

**1963**—John Kennedy makes his Address on Civil Rights, February 28. In it he reiterates the belief that the American constitution is colorblind.

The March on Washington, August 28, 1963. In his



*(Chronology continued from previous page.)*

address before over 200,000 participants, Martin Luther King Jr. dreamt of a day when his children would be judged by their character, not by the color of their skin.

(John Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, November 22, 1963. )

**1964**—January through May 1964—Congress debates the proposed civil rights legislation. Much of the conflict concerned racial balance and quotas—liberals denying either would result from the law; segregationists alleging both would ensue. Who has proved correct, liberals or segregationists?

Another Civil Rights Act was signed into law by President Johnson on July 2, 1964. The law forbids discrimination based on race, sex, ethnicity or religion.

**1965**—June 4, President Johnson delivers the commencement address at Howard University. During his speech, written by Assistant Secretary of Labor Patrick Moynihan, Johnson intoned: “We seek not just freedom but opportunity—not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and as a result.” Clearly, the thrust of this speech was to justify special preferences for blacks so that they might achieve equality as a result. Nevertheless, Johnson’s rhetoric was not yet national policy. [Graham, 174.]

**1966**—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission sends out forms to employers asking statistics about workers’ race and ethnicity—but not about their religion. Alfred Blumrosen and Sonia Pressman were chiefly responsible for this extension of EEOC power in preparation to demand racial balance and quotas in the workplace. They did not inquire about religion on the forms, though the law includes that category, because the last thing Blumrosen and Pressman wanted was religious balance and quotas in the workplace.

**June 1968**—Patrick Moynihan, Labor Department official, criticized the EEOC questionnaires as potentially anti-Semitic.

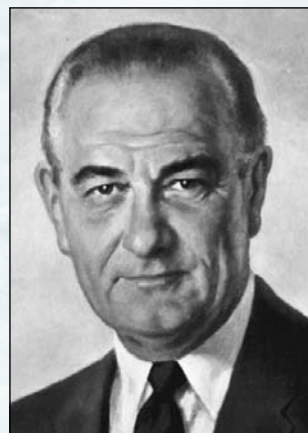
**1969**—Newly elected Republican Richard Nixon moves quickly and decisively. Secretary of Labor George Shultz revives “The Philadelphia Plan,” which had been dormant in the concluding days of the Johnson administration. With the Philadelphia Plan, racial quotas became essential in order to receive government contracts. By late 1969 the quota system was extended under Nixon from one city to the entire nation; in 1970 the categories expanded to include such selected minorities as Hispanics, “Native Americans” (American Indians) and Asians; and in 1971 to include women. In effect, everyone received a preference except white men, who would now face legal discrimination.

**1971**—*Griggs vs. Duke Power Co.* The U.S. Supreme Court accepted the disparate impact theory formulated by Blumrosen and the EEOC that, in effect, under-representation of minorities and women in the workplace constituted

discrimination. The high court held that high school diplomas could not be used as a job requirement for most positions because it would adversely effect minorities. Soon, intelligence and aptitude tests, as well as criminal background checks, were forbidden as screening tools for most jobs because they too would have a disparate impact on minorities. With the Griggs decision, equal treatment for all was rejected and replaced by unequal treatment in order to achieve equal results, racial balance and quotas.

**1978**—*University of California Regents vs. Bakke*. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that California Medical Schools could use race as one factor in determining admissions. Universities, if they had not already done so, quickly used race as the determinant factor to achieve their quotas for certain particularly useful minorities and women.

**1979**—*Weber vs. Kaiser Aluminum*. Brian Weber, a white employee, had sought to improve himself by partaking in a craft-training program. Both his employer, Kaiser, and his union, United Steelworkers of America, had passed him over, selecting instead a black with less seniority in order to fill a racial quota. Weber sued, alleging they had discriminated against him because of his race. In a lower court, Judge Jack Gordon ruled in Weber’s favor, “This court is not sufficiently skilled in the art of sophistry to justify discrimination by employers in light of the unequivocal provisions against discrimination against any individual contained in Title VII [of the Civil Rights Act of 1964].” Unfortunately the U.S. Supreme Court contained too many such sophists, and they ruled 5-2 against Weber, and white workers in general. They ruled in favor of quotas of preference and privilege to those approved by big business and big unions. Thereafter, white workers had no rights that the liberal elite were bound to respect. ❖



*President John F. Kennedy maintained the U.S. Constitution is “colorblind.” The phrase “affirmative action” was first used in President Lyndon Johnson’s 1965 Executive Order 11246, which required federal contractors to “take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color or national origin.”*

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# *A HISTORY OF RACIAL MIXING IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES*

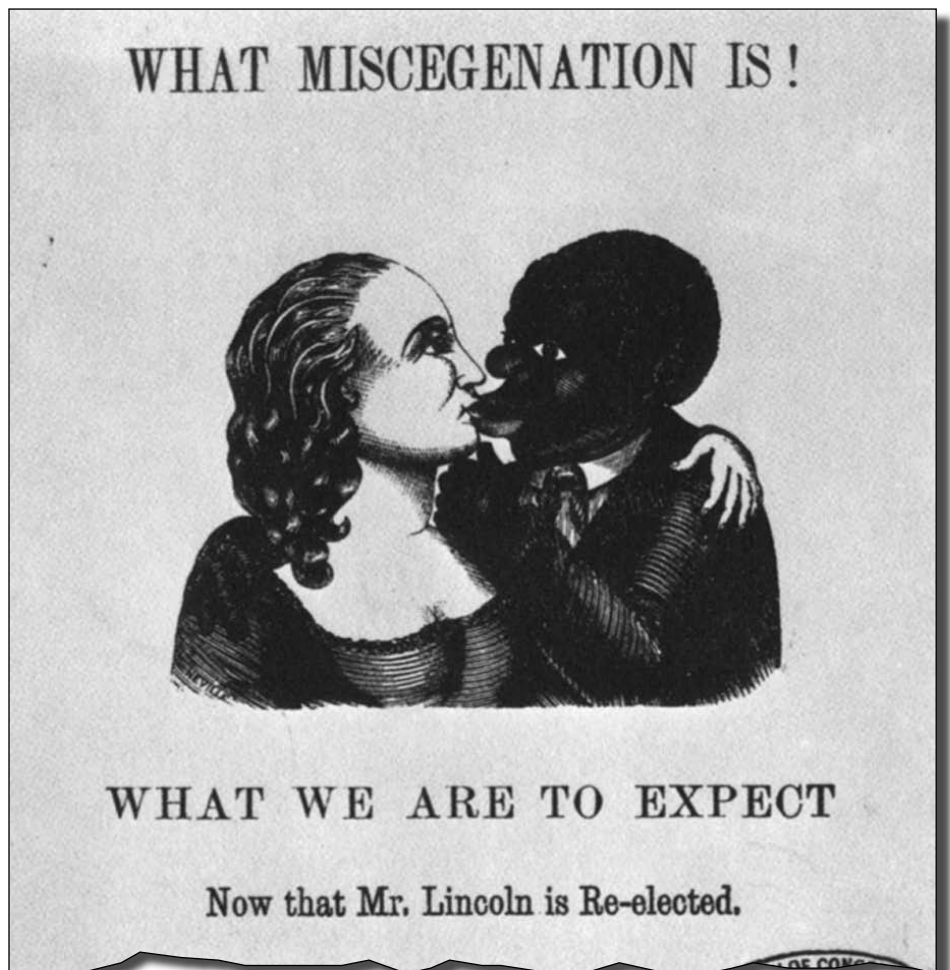
BY ROBERT M. GROOMS

*All of the 13 American colonies had some blacks as well as whites, and black-white miscegenation (race mixing) was practiced in all the colonies, a fact reflected by the presence of a significant number of mulattos in each. It is impossible to determine how much intermixture there actually was, although the indication is that there was more mixing during the 17th and 18th centuries than at any other time until the period of the 1960s through the present.*

Miscegenation in the Northern colonies typically involved sex outside of marriage between white women and black men, while in the Southern colonies the inverse combination was common. Miscegenation between white women and black men was far more common than is generally acknowledged today. Virtually all the children of these unions were, like today, illegitimate. Legally sanctified interracial marriages did occur, mainly, though not exclusively, in the Middle Atlantic and New England colonies.

Before proceeding further, some historical clarification is in order. A present-day myth has all Africans entering the colonies as chattel slaves. From the arrival of the first negroes at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 until the 1660s, blacks were treated the same as white indentured servants from Europe. In his book *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, the country's foremost negro historian and chairman of former President William Clinton's Commission on Race, Duke University professor John Hope Franklin, wrote concerning the first Africans to arrive in the New World:

These newcomers, who happened to be black, were simply more indentured servants. They were listed in . . . 1623 and 1624, and as late as 1651, negroes whose period of service had expired were being assigned land much in the same way that it was being assigned to whites who had completed their indenture. During its



*The title page of a mid-19th-century pamphlet is reproduced here. The intention of the satirical pamphlet was to stir up feelings of revulsion at the prospect of miscegenation, which the author, L. Seaman, maintained would be the result of a re-election of Abraham Lincoln.*



**first half-century of existence, Virginia had many negro indentured servants; and the records reveal an increasing number of free negroes.**

In 1790 there were 10,274 blacks in the Pennsylvania colony, 6,537 of whom were free and 3,737 indentured servants. Over half of the Europeans arriving in the colonies came as indentured servants; at one point, about two-thirds of the white inhabitants of Virginia colony were bond servants. The fact is, white indentured servants from Europe were often transported in the same ships and under the same conditions as blacks from Africa. Black and white indentured servants were frequently housed in the same shelter and worked side by side with each other. Whites and blacks alike were required to serve a set period of indentureship, usually four to seven years. Both were given a set amount of acreage and whatever other items (e.g., clothing, tools, seeds and farm animals) required by the laws of the colony in which they resided.

The concept of *in durante vite* (servitude for life) did not exist in the colonies, except for a small number of convicts transported from the British Isles, until the late 1660s through the early 1680s (depending on the

colony). Consequently the approximately 150,000 Africans who came to the colonies between 1619 and the late 1660s arrived as indentured servants. (When the United States was formed in 1776, importation of slaves into the country had been made illegal in all the colonies except Georgia, where it was outlawed in 1798.)

One of history's best-kept secrets is that former black indentured servants and American Indians came to own white bond slaves in large numbers. In 1670 the Virginia legislature felt compelled to outlaw the practice: "It is enacted that no negro or Indian, though baptized and enjoying their own freedom, shall be capable of any such purchase of Christians." ("Christians" was an euphemism of the period for whites.) Virginia, in 1692, restated the 1670 statute: "No negro, mulatto or Indian shall at any time purchase any servant, other than of their own complexion." In a few colonies Jews were also forbidden to purchase Christians.

While it is well known that President George Washington owned black slaves, few today are aware that he also owned white bond slaves. The "Father of Our Country" required his slaves, white and

black, to work from sun up to sun down and used his female servants, in addition to household work, for such plantation tasks as grubbing, carrying rails, putting up fences, leveling ditches, collecting and spreading dung, planting and harvesting crops (corn, peas, pumpkins and apples), and threshing rye. Washington required his white male bond slaves to fight under his command during the Revolutionary War.

The negative public attitude about miscegenation was strong enough to force itself over the hurdles of the legislative process into the statute books of many of the colonies. In 1630 a Virginia court sentenced Hugh Davis "to be soundly whipped, before an assembly of negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro." In 1640, Robert Sweet was compelled "to do penance in church, and, according to the laws of England for getting a negro woman with child, had the woman whipped. About 1660 a white man and a black woman were required to stand clad in white sheets before a congregation in lower Norfolk County for having had sexual relations. And in 1651, a Maryland man sued for and was awarded 1,500 pounds of "tobacco and cask" from a man who had claimed "that he had a black bastard in Virginia."

In 1662, Virginia declared that: "If any Christian shall commit fornication with a negro man or woman, he or she shall pay double the usual fine provided for sexual congress outside marriage." A 1667 Maryland law described marriages between white women and negroes as a "disgrace not only of the English but also of many other Christian nations." Virginia finally prohibited all interracial sexual liaisons. In 1691, the Virginia General Assembly vigorously denounced miscegenation and the resulting children as "that abominable mixture and spurious issue."

By the turn of the 18th century it was clear that the settlers in most of the colonies felt genuine revulsion for interracial sexual union. A demographic distinct may have affected the development of attitudes toward miscegenation and mulattos. In the 18th century, New England's sex ratio found females outnumbering men, which may help explain why white women in New England were occasionally willing to marry negroes. Differences in degrees of



**Miscegenation has been an ongoing phenomenon worldwide, and recently the pace has been accelerating. In this picture, taken in Kenya, Charles Njonjo, the quondam Kenyan attorney general, marries an English school-teacher on November 18, 1972.**

revulsion between Northern and Southern colonies were based on the number of blacks and mulattos in the colony. In the Southern colonies, where the majority of blacks lived, the revulsion was greater than in the New England colonies, where few non-whites resided.

The total outlawing of miscegenation occurred in Maryland in 1664, Virginia in 1691, Massachusetts in 1705, North Carolina in 1715, South Carolina in 1717, Pennsylvania in 1726, and by Georgia when blacks were admitted to that colony in 1750. Thus two Northern and all the plantation colonies legally prohibited miscegenation. In 1705 New York's legislature passed a gradual emancipation bill, which barred negroes from the polls and from marrying whites. In Massachusetts, an act of 1796 on the "Solemnization of Marriage" voided marriages between whites and negroes. Rhode Island passed a similar law in 1798. Pennsylvania's emancipation bill also contained a similar provision. Delaware outlawed sexual congress between blacks and whites in 1798.


In a book about indentured servants published in 1904, it is noted that among the white indentured servants "there were often men of a very low type, who, during their term of servitude intermarried with negro slaves." Such marriages aroused the indignation of the "better class of inhabitants," who considered the negro far more degraded than the vilest criminal from Old Bailey or Newgate [British prisons.]

To combat this situation, in September 1664 the Maryland colony's governing body enacted a law "thought to be severe" enough to prevent any white woman from disgracing herself and society by contracting such a marriage in the future. The law provided that "all negro" and other slaves already in the colony and those brought to the colony in the future shall serve *durante vitae*, "and all children born of any negro or other slave shall be slaves as their fathers were, for the term of their lives."

Instead of totally preventing mixed marriages, the law enabled avaricious masters to convert their female servants into slaves for life. Unprincipled masters would allow their negro slaves to rape white female servants, and, once impregnated, force them to marry the slave.

An interesting case brought about the

### DISNEY JUMPS ON THE BANDWAGON



*Michael Eisner changed the Disney company, which used to provide straight, harmless entertainment, into an instrument in the campaign to "multiculturalize" America. Examples of this include at least one children's film: Pocahontas. The message of the film is that there is no reason why a white man should not marry an American Indian woman. Here, the cartoon Pocahontas and John Smith, a white settler, enjoy an intimate moment.*

repeal of the law in 1664. Among the indentured servants brought from Europe by Lord Baltimore (after whom the chief city of Maryland was named) was a female convict who later became famous in court records as "Irish Nell." When Baltimore returned to England, he sold her to a planter, who soon married her to a black slave named Butler. Upon learning of this, Baltimore used his influence to secure the repeal of the law. But as Nell was married while the law was in force, she and her children continued to be held as slaves.

Nearly a century later, in September 1770, William Butler, a descendent of "Irish Nell," petitioned a court for his freedom on the ground that he was descended from a white woman. The provincial court granted his freedom, but the court of appeals reversed the decision.

Freedom was granted to Eleanor Too-goods, whose mother had been a white woman who was adjudged a slave for marrying a negro.

Once more the "Irish Nell" case was revived in 1787, when Mary Butler, daughter of William Butler, petitioned for her freedom. This time the slave was successful. Both courts decided in her favor.

The repealing law was passed in September 1681. The preamble stated that the marriage of white women with black slaves was often due to the instigation, procurement and connivance of the owners. Consequently any master who precipitated the marriage of a white woman servant and a black slave would be fined 10,000 pounds of tobacco. The woman was to be freed, as were any children of the union. As an additional penalty, priests and ministers who performed such marriages were to be also fined 10,000 pounds of tobacco.

In 1692, Maryland passed a law that provided that any white woman who married a negro would become a servant for seven years. If the black was free, he was to become a servant for the remainder of his life. The law was extended to white men as well as white women in 1699.

While Maryland's law of 1681 protected the white servant from evil designs of an avaricious master, it did not prevent miscegenation. Mingling of the races continued during the 18th century, in spite of all the laws against it. Preventing marriages of whites with blacks only led to another social evil. Masters were compelled by law to maintain bastard children, regardless of



the child's race, of their female servants. Masters and society in general were burdened with the care of additional illegitimate mulatto children. By laws enacted in 1715 and 1717, any white man or white woman who cohabited with a black, free or slave, was made a servant for seven years, and children of the union were made servants for 31 years. If the father could be found, he was held responsible for the support of the child. If not, the mother had to repay her master by additional years of servitude. This prevented illegitimate children from becoming a burden to the parishes as they were in Virginia.

In 1740, Maryland imposed an additional seven years and six months extension on her term of servitude for any unmarried white servant who committed the triple offense of fornication and having an illegitimate, mulatto child.

The majority of interracial marriages in New York involved black men and white women of "the meaner sort." In the plantation colonies, there were occasional instances of white women marrying negroes. White men were sometimes left to ponder indignities such as that suffered by a Marylander who advertised in 1759 that he would no longer be responsible for his wife's debts because "Mary Skinner, my Wife, has, after all the Love and Tenderness which could possibly be shown by Man to a Woman, polluted my Bed, by taking to her in my Stead, her . . . Negro Slaves by whom she hath a Child, which hath occasioned so much Disgrace to me and my Family that I have thought proper to forbid her my sight anymore."

During the colonial period, in both Virginia and Maryland, there were cases of white men petitioning for divorce on the

ground of their wives' adultery with a negro or mulatto.

In 1705 the Virginia Assembly defined a mulatto as "the child, grandchild or great grandchild of a negro." North Carolina wavered on the matter but generally pushed the taint of negro ancestry from one-eighth to one-16th. There is no reason to suppose that these two colonies were atypical. Of the various laws which penalized miscegenation none applied to Indians, and only North Carolina (and Virginia for a brief period) prohibited intermarriage between whites and Indians.

Without the physical and mental differences between the black and white races, there could never have developed well-formulated conceptions about the undesirability of sexual relations between people of African origin and people of European origin in America. The underlying reason for the laws that prevented racial intermingling was that racial mixture was "disagreeable" to whites. Perhaps it was this feeling which prompted prominent Boston merchant James Bowdoin to ship one of his negroes to the West Indies in exchange for produce or another negro boy, explaining that "my Man Caesar has been engaged in an amour with some of the white ladies of the town." When Mrs. Anne Grant recalled her early years in the colony of New York, she remarked that the citizens of Albany possessed what seemed to her a particular "moral delicacy" on one point: "They were from infancy in habits of familiarity with these humble friends [negroes], yet [were] early taught that nature had placed between them a barrier, which it was in a high degree criminal and disgraceful to pass." ♦

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### RELIC OF A VANISHED ARMY . . .

"Uncle" Steve Eberhardt, in his 100th year, poses at a Confederate commemoration in Mobile, Alabama, in 1931. Eberhardt was born a slave near Rome, Georgia, and campaigned with the Confederate Army in the capacity of body servant.



# THE CHRISTIAN HOLOCAUST IN PALESTINE, A.D. 614

BY ISRAEL SHAMIR

*Things move really fast nowadays. Just yesterday, we hardly dared to call the Israeli policy of official discrimination against Palestinians by the harsh word “apartheid.” Today, as Sharon’s tanks and missiles pound defenseless cities and villages, the word barely suffices. It has become an unjustified insult to the white separatists of South Africa. They, after all, did not use gun ships and tanks against the Bantus. They did not lay siege to Soweto. They did not deny the humanity of their “kaffirs.” The Jewish supremacists made it one better: They have returned us, as if by magic wand, to the world of Joshua and Saul.*

As the search for the right word continues, Robert Fisk proposes calling the current events in Palestine a “civil war.” If this is “civil war,” the slaughter of a lamb is a “bullfight.” The disparity of forces is too just too large. No, Virginia, it is not “civil war”; it is creeping genocide.

This is the point in our saga where the good Jewish guy is supposed to take out his hanky and exclaim: “How could we, eternal victims of persecutions, commit such crimes?” Well, do not hold your breath waiting for this line. This has happened before, and it can happen again.

Jews are not more bloodthirsty than the rest of mankind. But the mad idea of being the chosen ones, the idea of supremacy, whether of race or religion, is the moving force behind genocides. If you believe God chose your people to rule the world; if you think others are but subhuman, you will be punished by the same God whose name you took in vain. Instead of a gentle frog, he would just as soon turn you into a murderous maniac.

Outside of Jerusalem’s Jaffa Gate (Bab al-Halil), there was once a small neighborhood called Mamilla, destroyed by real estate developers just a few years ago. In its place they created a monstrous “village” for the super-rich, abutting the plush



*Pontius Pilate, depicted at the left in this painting, Ecce Homo (“Behold the Man”), by Quentin Massys (1466-1530), hands over Jesus to be crucified as a mocking soldier places a scarlet cloak over the shoulders of Jesus, who is already wearing his crown of thorns. One of Pilate’s accomplishments was the digging of Mamilla Pool. Ironically, that reservoir would become the site of one of the world’s worst-ever holocausts.*

Hilton Hotel. A bit farther away, there is the old Mamilla cemetery of the Arab nobles and the Mamilla Pool, a water reservoir dug by Pontius Pilate. During the development work, the workers came across a burial cave holding hundreds of skulls and bones. It was adorned by a cross and a legend: "God alone knows their names." *The Biblical Archaeology Review*, published by the Jewish American Herschel Shanks, printed a long feature<sup>1</sup> by the Israeli archeologist Ronny Reich on this discovery.

The dead were laid to their eternal rest in A.D. 614, the most dreadful year in the history of Palestine until the 20th century. Scottish scholar Adam Smith wrote in his *Historical Geography of Palestine*: "Until now, the terrible devastation of 614 is visible in the land. It could not be healed."

By 614, Palestine was a part of the Roman successor state, the Byzantine empire. It was a prosperous, predominantly Christian land of well-developed agriculture, of harnessed water systems, and carefully laid terraces. Pilgrims came in flocks to the Holy places, and the Constantine-built edifices of the Holy Sepulcher and of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives were among the manmade wonders of the world. The Judean wilderness was enlivened by 80 monasteries, where precious manuscripts were collected and prayers offered. Fathers of the church, St. Jerome of Bethlehem and Origene of Caesarea, were still a living memory.

There was also a small, wealthy Jewish community living in their midst, mainly in Tiberias on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Their scholars had just completed their version of the Talmud, the codification of their faith, rabbinical Judaism; but for instruction they deferred to the Jewish community in Persian Babylonia.

In 614, local Palestinian Jews allied with their Babylonian coreligionists and assisted the Persians in their conquest of the Holy Land. In the aftermath of the Persian victory, Jews perpetrated a massive holocaust of the "gentiles" of Palestine. They burned the churches and the monasteries, killed monks and priests, burned books. The beautiful Basilica of Fishes and Loaves in Tabgha, the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, St. Steven opposite Damascus Gate and the Hagia Sion on Mount Zion are just at the top

of the list of perished edifices. Indeed, very few churches survived the onslaught. The Great Laura of St. Sabas, tucked away in the bottomless Ravine of Fire (Wadi an-Nar), was saved by its remote location and steep crags. The Church of Nativity miraculously survived: when Jews commanded its destruction, the Persians balked. They perceived the Magi mosaic above the lintel as a portrait of Persian kings.

This devastation was not the worst crime. When Jerusalem surrendered to the Persians, thousands of local Christians became prisoners of war and were herded to the Mamilla Pool area. Reich writes: "They were probably sold to the highest bidder."



*The ancient scene of the holocaust of Christians is located not far from the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem. The Jaffa Gate, shown above, is the main way into the Old City from West Jerusalem.*

According to some sources, the Christian captives at Mamilla Pool were bought by Jews and were then slain on the spot. An eyewitness, Strategius of St. Sabas, was more vivid: "Jews ransomed the Christians from the hands of the Persian soldiers for good money and slaughtered them with great joy at Mamilla Pool, and it ran with blood."

Jews massacred 60,000 Palestinian Christians in Jerusalem alone. The Earth's population was probably about 50 million then, 100 times smaller than today.<sup>2</sup> A few days later, the Persian military understood the magnitude of the massacre and stopped the Jews.

To his credit, Reich does not try to shift the blame for the massacres onto the Persians, as it is usually done nowadays. He admits that "[T]he Persian empire was not based on religious principles and was indeed inclined to religious tolerance." This good man is clearly unsuitable to write for *The New York Times*. That paper's correspondent in Israel, Deborah Sonntag, would have no trouble describing the massacre as a "retaliatory strike by the Jews who suffered under Christian rule."

The holocaust of the Christian Palestinians in year 614 is well documented, and you will find it described in older books, for instance in the three volumes of Runciman's *History of the Crusades*. It has been censored out of modern guides and history books. This is a pity, as without this knowledge one cannot understand the provisions of the treaty between the Jerusalemites and Caliph Omar ibn Khattab, concluded in year 638.

In the Sulh al Quds, as this treaty of capitulation is called, Patriarch Sofronius demanded, and the powerful Arab ruler agreed to protect the people of Jerusalem from the ferocity of the Jews.

After the Arab conquest, a majority of Palestinian Jews accepted the message of Muhammad, as did the majority of Palestinian Christians, albeit for somewhat different reasons. For local Christians, Islam was a sort of Nestorian Christianity, but without icons, without Constantinople's interference and without Greeks.

For ordinary local Jews, Islam was a return to the faith of Abraham and Moses, as they could not follow the intricacies of the new Babylonian [Talmudic] faith anyway. The majority of them became Muslims and blended into the Palestinian population. The accommodation of Jews to Islam did not stop in the seventh century. A thousand years later, in the 17th century, the greatest spiritual leaders of the new-founded Sephardic Jewish community of Palestine, Sabbatai Zevi and Nathan of Gaza, the successors to the glorious Spanish mystic tradition of Ari the Saint of Safed, also embraced "the law of mercy," as they called Islam. Their descendants, the comrades of Ataturk, saved Turkey from the onslaught of the European troops during World War I.

Modern Jews do not have to feel guilty for the misdeeds of Jews long gone. No son is responsible for the sins of his father.



Israel could have turned this mass grave with its Byzantine chapel and mosaics into a small and meaningful memorial, reminding its citizens of a horrible page in the history of the land and of the dangers of genocidal supremacy. Instead, the Israeli authorities preferred to demolish the tomb and create an underground parking lot in its place. This did not cause a murmur.

The Israeli guardians of the Jewish conscience, Amos Oz and others, have objected to the destruction of ancient remains. No, not of the tomb at Mamilla. They filed a petition against the keepers of the Haram a-Sharif mosque complex for digging a 10-inch trench to lay a new pipe.

It did not matter to them that, in an op-ed in *Haaretz*, the leading Israeli archeologist of the area denied all relevance of the mosque works to science. They still described it as “a barbaric act of Muslims aimed at the obliteration of the Jewish heritage of Jerusalem.” Among the signatories, I found, to my amazement and sorrow, the name of Ronny Reich. One thinks he might tell them who obliterated the vestiges of the Jewish heritage at Mamilla Pool.

Why do I find it necessary to tell the story of the Mamilla bloodbath? Because there is nothing more dangerous than the feeling of self-righteousness and perpetual victimhood reinforced by a one-sided historical narrative. Here again, the Jews are not unique. Eric Margolis of *The Toronto Sun*<sup>3</sup> wrote about Armenians inflamed by the story of their holocaust. They massacred thousands of their peaceful Azeri neighbors in the 1990s and caused the uprooting of 800,000 native non-Armenians. “It’s time to recognize all [the] world’s horrors,” Margolis concludes.

Censored history creates a distorted picture of reality. Recognition of the past is a necessary step on the way to sanity. The Germans and the Japanese have recognized the crimes of their fathers, have come to grips with their moral failings and have emerged as humbler, less boastful folks, akin to the rest of the human race. We Jews have so far failed to exorcise the haughty spirit of chosenness and find ourselves in a dire predicament.

The idea of supremacy is still with us, still calling for genocide. In 1982, Amos Oz<sup>4</sup> met an Israeli, who shared with the writer his dream of becoming a Jewish Hitler to the Palestinians. Slowly this dream is becoming a reality.

*Haaretz* published an ad on its front page,<sup>5</sup> signed by a group of rabbis. The rabbis proclaimed the theological identification of Ishmael, i.e., the Arabs, with the Amalekites. “Amalek” is mentioned in the Bible as the name of a tribe that caused trouble for the children of Israel.

In this story, the God of Israel commands His people to exterminate the Amalekite tribe completely, including its livestock. King Saul botched the job: He exterminated them, all right, but failed to kill the virginal maidens.<sup>6</sup> This “failure” cost him his crown. The obligation to exterminate the people of Amalek is still counted among the tenets of the Jewish faith, though for centuries nobody made the identification of a living nation with the accursed extinct tribe.

There was one exclusion showing how dangerous the ruling is. At the end of World War II, some Jews, including Menachem Begin (the late prime minister), identified the Germans with the Amalekites.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, a Jewish religious socialist and a fighter against Nazis, Abba Kovner, hatched in 1945 a plot to poison the water supply system of German cities and to kill “6 million Germans.” He obtained poison from the future president of Israel, Efraim Katzir. Katzir supposedly thought Kovner intended to poison “only” a few thousand German POWs. The plan mercifully flopped when Kovner was stopped by British officials in a European port. This story was published last year in Israel in a biography of Kovner written by Prof. Dina Porat, head of the Anti-Semitism Research Centre at Tel Aviv University.<sup>8</sup>

In plain English, the rabbis’ *fatwa* means: Our religious duty is to kill all Arabs, including women and babies and their livestock, to the last cat.

The liberal *Haaretz*, whose editor and owner are sufficiently versed to understand the *fatwa*, did not hesitate to place the ad.

Some Palestinian activists recently criticized me for associating with the marginal Russian weekly *Zavtra* and for quoting the now-defunct American weekly *Spotlight*. I wonder why they have not condemned me for writing in *Haaretz*? *Zavtra* and *Spotlight* have never published a call to genocide, after all.

It would be unfair to single out *Haaretz*. Another prominent Jewish newspaper, *The*

*Washington Post*, published an equally passionate call to genocide by Charles Krauthammer.<sup>9</sup> This adept of King Saul cannot rely upon his audience’s knowledge of the Bible, so he refers to Gen. Colin Powell’s slaughter of routed Iraqi troops at the end of the Gulf War. He quotes Powell saying of the Iraqi army, “First we’re going to cut it off, then we’re going to kill it.”

In the last stage of the war in the gulf, immense numbers of retreating and disarmed Iraqis were slaughtered in cold blood by the U.S. Air Force, their bodies buried by bulldozers in the desert sand in huge mass graves. The number of victims of this hecatomb is estimated from 100,000 to half a million. God alone knows their names.

Krauthammer wants to repeat this feat in Palestine. It is already cut off, divided by the Israeli army into 70 pieces. Now it is ready for the great kill. “Kill it!” he calls with great passion. He must be worried that the Persians will again stop the bloodbath before the Mamilla Pool fills up. His worries are our hopes. ♦

#### FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup>BAR, 1996, vol. 22, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Thus, 60,000 Palestinian Christians then would be equivalent to 6 million victims today.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup>April 22, 2001.

<sup>4</sup>*Here and There in the Land of Israel*, Amos Oz.

<sup>5</sup>Nov. 21, 2000.

<sup>6</sup>In 1 Samuel 15, Saul reportedly annihilated the Amalekites. However, this is contradicted by the story that the raiding party that later attacked Ziklag was Amalekites; and, although this group of Amalekites was destroyed by David, another Amalekite turns up in 2 Samuel 1, claiming to have killed King Saul—for which he is not rewarded, but executed by King David.—Ed.

<sup>7</sup>Of course, the ancestors of the Germans never lived in or around Palestine.—Ed.

<sup>8</sup>*Haaretz*, April 28, 2001.

<sup>9</sup>*Washington Post*, April 20, 2001.

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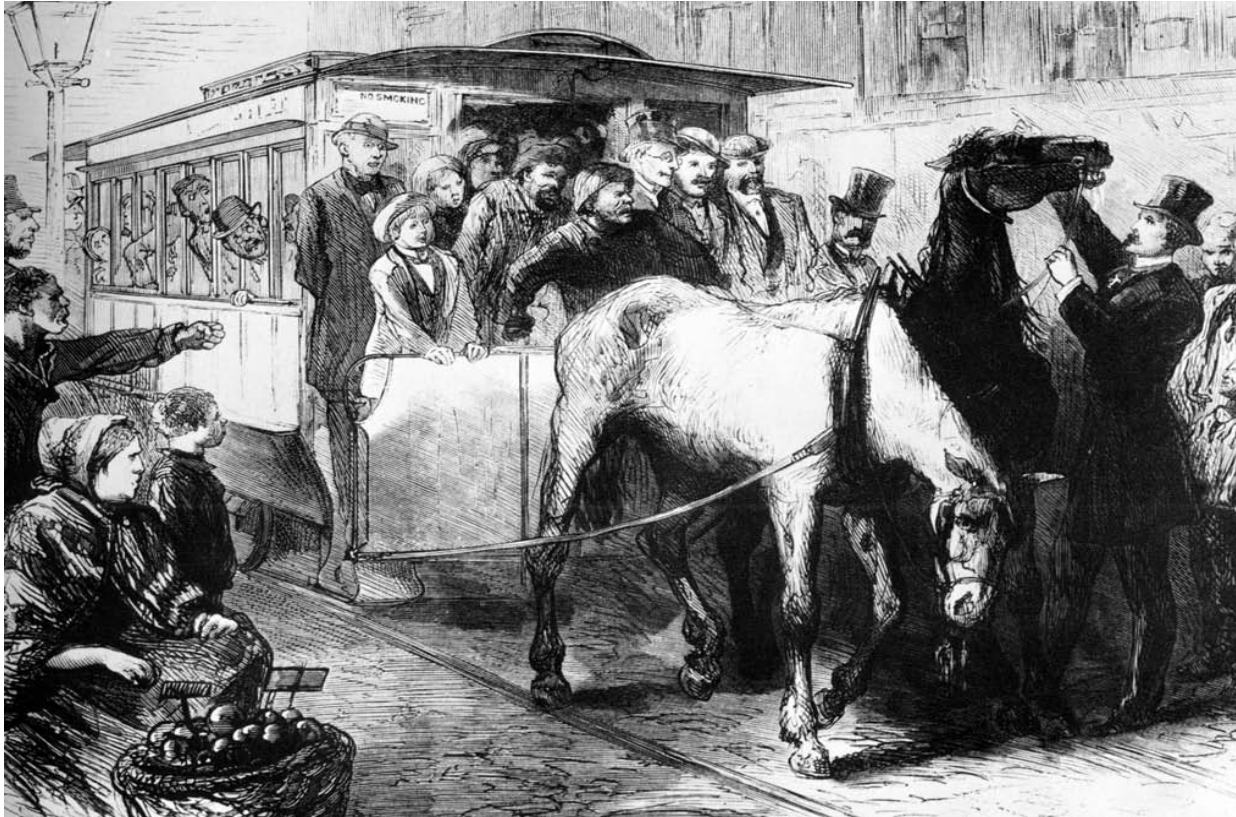
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*Israel Shamir is a well-known Jewish writer and journalist. Among his articles that can be found at many web sites are “The Rape of Dulcinea,” “The Test That Failed” and “Galilee Flowers.” Mr. Shamir lives in Israel.*



## ≈ VIEWS OF AMERICA ≈

**P**robably no industry played a more central role in the development of the American city than did the street railway, or trolley. The trolley car was a visible and noisy part of the urban scene, and during the age of electric traction, no place of consequence seemed complete without it. Until the family automobile became commonplace, the streetcar performed a memorable role in city existence. Whether for travel to and from work or for an outing to the theater, a park or a ball game, riding the cars was part of the fabric of everyday life.



**IN THE DAYS BEFORE MOTORIZED TRANSPORTATION**, trolleys were operated with horsecars. But overcrowding, as shown in this drawing, was entirely too frequent. It was hard work for the horses, which were usually good for no more than three to five years of such rough service. Most lines managed an average speed of five or six miles per hour. When the first horsecar line made its inaugural run down New York's Bowery in 1831, scarcely one American in 12 lived in a city, and the nation's largest municipality had little more than 200,000 inhabitants.



**IN THESE TWO DELIGHTFUL** drawings, artist F. Cresson Schell captures the excitement and gaiety of trolley excursions aboard illuminated "party" cars. Additionally, in many cities, specially adorned Christmas trolleys became an institution. The one at left toured Seattle streets in the 1930s.



# THE IDEA OF EUROPE

## A REVIEW OF CHRISTOPHER DAWSON'S CHRISTIANITY & EUROPEAN CULTURE

BY M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON

*Britisher Christopher Dawson (1889-1970) is one of the best-known 20th-century Roman Catholic historians. A medievalist, one of his major areas of interest was the concept of a Christian European culture and its relation to an overarching European high culture; this is to say the interpenetration of religious and secular culture in an idea of Europe. The recently edited Christianity and European Culture is a means whereby the educated public can get a glimpse into the basic arguments of Dawson concerning this relationship.*

Dawson writes as, generally speaking, an anti-nationalist. But his dislike for nationalism is eccentric. Firstly, Dawson, putting it overly simply, believes in the resurrection of the "Holy Roman Empire"—that is, the idea of a supranational, Christian, communalist and royalist commonwealth taking in all European peoples. The idea of "nationalism" for Dawson has little to do with culture and everything to do with the state making absolutist claims for itself. As it happens, many cultural nationalists, such as this writer, fully accept this idea. (Dawson is not a cosmopolitan by any means: To equate nationalism with statist absolutism would be puerile.)

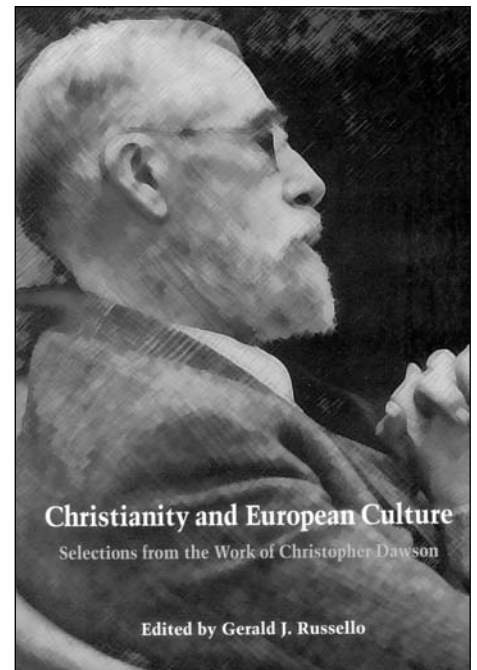
According to Dawson, Christianity played much the same part in Western civilization as Neo-Confucianism once did in China, or Islam in the Middle East:

It was the principle of moral unity that gave the Western peoples their spiritual values, their moral standards and their conception of a divine law from which all human laws, it was believed, ultimately derived their validity and their sanction . . . for it was only as Christendom—the society of Christian peoples—that the tribes, peoples and nations of the West acquired a common consciousness and a sense of cultural and spiritual unity. (22-23)

This is the central notion of European civilization—and, by extension, Christian

civilization. The faith was not received as a set of abstract postulates or moral exhortations, but itself forged the very notion of Europe as a cultural and, more importantly, a spiritual entity. Nations, tribes and peoples, then, receive a higher source of law and morality. In addition to their own internal development, their specific characters were forged, in part, also from membership in the Christian imperium. The spiritual unity of Christendom, or, more specifically, Christian Europe, created the idea, in many significant ways, of individual nations that are "European." European culture, therefore, is not, ultimately, the creation of nations, but quite the reverse.

The primary roadblock to understanding the idea of Christian civilization is a certain notion of nationalism. This is to say that, as European peoples began to see themselves as members of smaller national and ethnic communities rather than as Christian Europeans, Western man's historical understanding became increasingly stunted. Rival claims to land or political supremacy replaced the commonalties of the Greco-Latin high culture of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Differences were stressed among European nations rather than spiritual commonalties, and the idea of Europe was resurrected only later as a vulgar shell of its former self: i.e., the imperial rule of liberal corporate capital in the



*Christopher Dawson (1889-1970) has been widely praised as one of the most important Catholic historians of the 20th century. Many of his works focused on the important relationship between religion and culture. Dawson emphasized the need to understand the role religious values played in the formation of culture, especially Western culture, and their continuing influence in world affairs.*



"European Union."

Nations, in other words, are not entirely self-sufficient, but are dependent on the supranational ideas of the civilizations that gave them birth. There is no such thing as "Spain," "Romania," "Serbia" or even "Prussia," without the basic legal and liturgical code that derived from the empire of Rome.

National isolation (assuming it ever existed) is something quite different from a nation's individual membership in a family of peoples. As our human individuality is not vitiated (but rather enhanced) from our own membership in various supra-individual institutions (such as family and church), so too a nation's sense of identity and self-worth is also not vitiated by its own acknowledgment of dependency upon the supranational institutions that, in turn, gave them their own high culture.

Dawson, to be sure, has a rather eccentric idea of "nationalism." It is doubtful that the average nationalist would have any difficulty with the arguments Dawson puts forth. For Dawson to equate nationalism with some non-existent and impossible "national isolation" is strictly self-serving. Of course, individual nations, in their long treks to development, adopted many significant aspects of the supranational empires of antiquity, but never wholesale. There never was an entirely blind absorption of Roman ideas into the development of European nationhood. Rather, the diffusion of Roman culture was done selectively, in accordance with a specific people's self-identity and interests.

It is not insignificant that in both East and West, formerly barbarian tribes eagerly gobbled up as much Roman culture as possible, often considering themselves "spiritual sons" of the imperial dignity. Conflicts between tribalism and the empire were over legal jurisdiction, but not over cultural inheritance. European civilization was not created from a set of tribes coming to a common consciousness, but was forged through the church, on the one hand, and the Christian imperium, on the other. The welter of languages and political traditions in Europe today, Dawson would claim, can-

## A FIGHTER AGAINST FALSE GODS

British historian Christopher Dawson (1889-1970) played a major role in the intellectual life of English-speaking Roman Catholics, especially from the 1930s to the 1960s. He held only one academic position in his life, but it was a prestigious one: He was the first occupant of the Charles Chauncey Stillman Chair of Roman Catholic Studies at Harvard University from 1958 to 1962. An accomplished and widely published historian, he differed from most of his contemporaries not only by his willingness to look for and often to find the role of faith in the lives of historical personages, but also in using it to evaluate historical movements. He saw the hand of the divine in history, and he did not shrink from writing about it. This may sound like anathema to the modern historical mind, but Dawson's professional achievements were such that even those who profoundly disagree with him take his work seriously.

The ideas Dawson expressed on the religion and culture some 70 years ago are in many ways even more important in the 21st century than they were in the 1930s. At that time Europe was facing the false gods of communism and the threatened disintegration of Christian morality. Dawson wrote in 1938 that: "A society which has lost its religion becomes sooner or later a society which has lost its culture."

not but hinder the far more important understanding of the inherent spiritual unity of Europe as a political and moral entity.

For Dawson, Christianity as a religion, as well as the spiritual substance of European man, needs to be understood this way:

**Its ideal is not a static and unchanging order like that of the other world religions. It is a spiritual society or organism that has incorporated itself with humanity and that takes into itself as it proceeds all that is vital and permanent in human life and civilization. It aims at nothing less than the spiritual integration of humanity, its deliverance from the tyranny of material force and the dominion of selfish aims and its reconstitution in spiritual unity. (128)**

Therefore, the idea of Christian civilization, once connected organically with the idea of Europe, is to transcend the merely political, the central idea of "national self-interest," and raise the "national interest" to defending and explicating the common inheritance of Europe as a whole, not merely as a political unity, but as a religious one as well. While condemning a vulgar liberal nationalism as the beginnings of the secular world order in which we presently live, he is equally harsh on modern democracy and liberalism, in words cherished by every patriot:

**The democratic states have, on their part, no doubt refused to accept the extreme consequences of the nationalist heresy. They have preserved some contact with the tradition of natural law and a real sense of international obligation.**

**Yet they also have ignored the existence of Europe as a social reality and oscillated between the reality of the nation-state and the idea of a cosmopolitan liberal world order which was theoretically coextensive with the human race, but was in practice dependent on the economic realities of international trade and finance. (133)**

The idea of civilization is a broader sort of cultural traditionalism, one based on the general idea of a civilizational high culture rather than the manifestation of such, the specific culture of a specific people. Historically, both Eastern and Western Europe shared many values and institutions that were supranational, the Christian faith chief among them. While national culture was always protected and was valuable in morally situating the individual within his community, the high culture of the imperium was never forgotten. This reciprocal motion is still being worked out to this day. Nationalism, in order to make sense, has to take into consideration the list of supranational institutions and ideas that formed the nations to which they are so emotionally attached. This, however, seems not to be a problem for nationalism. Nationality is inherently based on many cultural factors that existed previous to the modern notion of "nation." On the other hand, the "strawman" style argument Dawson uses to characterize nationalism leaves out the process of digestion and internalization, where outside influences, if deemed appropriate, are taken over by the nation and adjusted to the needs and interests of the people.

❖ And thus there are two principles in Christianity which though they sometimes appear contradictory are equally essential as the two poles of the spiritual order: There is the principle of transcendence, represented by the apocalyptic, ascetic, world-denying element in religion, and there is the principle of catholicity, which finds expression in the historic, social, world embracing activity of the church. (128)

The notion of the church as a purely passive and world-denying ideology is clearly refuted by the simple fact that Europe was converted by it, her armies were inspired by it, the Crusades were fought for it, Byzantium held off Islam for hundreds of years by it, and classical civilization was preserved and improved upon by it. Put simply, the aim of this collection of Dawson's essays is to explain, in general terms, the extremely complex relation between the idea of transcendence and catholicity in the development (or, more accurately, the manifestation) of the European idea. Dawson's idea of nationalism also is a specific application of this principle. In other words, the transcendence of the national idea is found in recognizing the nation's cultural and religious interdependence, while its "catholic" aspect is found in this cultural inheritance's enjoyment according to the linguistic and common folk traditions of a people. Neither aspect is harmed by this unavoidable juxtaposition.

The manifestation of this idea is described by Dawson as existing in several stages. First, the coming to fruition of the Hellenic culture in the pre-Christian era. They were united around the twin poles of "the free city and a common culture" (135). Second, the expansion of the Greek idea through Alexander and the rise of Rome. Dawson writes of the relation between Greece and Rome:

Though they [the Romans] were not the creators of Western culture, they diffused and defended it, and the walls that Balbus built on the Northumbrian moorland and around the posts in the Libyan desert were the shield which protected the westward advance of the classical Mediterranean culture. The Greeks themselves, like Polybius and Strabo, were the first to recognize the nature of the Roman achievement as the indispensable continuation and completion of the achievement of Hellenism. (137)

Thirdly, the formation of Christendom

## MOVEABLE TYPE IN EUROPE



*A printer's workshop, circa 1440-1500. Moveable lead type allowed for the printing of massive quantities of reading material.*

Until the invention of printing from moveable type, books had been produced by two methods: laborious copying of manuscripts, and printing from wooden blocks. As long as books had to be copied by hand onto parchment or vellum, they were costly and their possession was only for a privileged few.

Paper was invented in China; moveable type was first perfected in Korea. But it took the unique culture of Europe to take these inventions and turn them into something that would change the world. Johannes Gutenberg's application (it doesn't really matter whether he "invented" it or not) of moveable type to the printing of books created an intellectual revolution in Europe. It helped to expand literacy and spread ideas throughout the entire world. It was the development of printing, the discovery of moveable type, and the invention of paper and improvements in paper quality which allowed type design to flourish.

Paper was invented in China around A.D. 105, and it was this discovery above anything else that sparked the evolution of printing.

The first paper mills appeared in Europe in the early part of the 12th century in Spain, followed by Italy, Germany and, finally, England in the late 1400s. Printing, using wood block on paper, existed in Korea as early as the eighth century, and, by the 10th century in China, it had already developed into an art form.

Moveable type technology was invented (or reinvented) in Europe around 1440 by Johannes Gutenberg (1398-1468), a goldsmith from Mainz, Germany. (Moveable type cast in clay (that is, earthenware, or china) and held in place by a metal form, was in use in China sometime between A.D. 1041 and 1048.) It was Gutenberg's knowledge of metals that allowed him to perfect his invention, to print one of the earliest known books in the Western World and the very first with the use of moveable type. With this new technology, he printed approximately 200 copies of a two-volume Bible consisting of almost 1,300 pages. Forty-eight copies still exist today, although only 21 of them are completely intact. There is no known evidence that would indicate that Gutenberg had any knowledge of the printing techniques that had previously been developed in Asia. In any case, it was the alphabet as it existed in the Western World that was to give moveable type such an important place in history.

The invention of moveable type was quite an undertaking, although no one knows exactly how long it took. It is known that Gutenberg already had the basics: paper, ink and a wooden press (probably a linen or grape press). He first had to cut each letter, symbol and punctuation mark in steel, by hand. Fortunately, he had an extensive knowledge of the casting of coins, and the process was a similar one. Gutenberg then created a matrix by casting each form, using lead mixed with a small percentage of the element antimony. This lead/antimony mix was soft enough to melt easily and expanded slightly when cool, creating an exact replica of the cut form. Yet it was hard enough to stand up to repeated pressure from the press.



# THE TBR HISTORY QUIZ

**1** In what year were hearings held in Congress to establish the Social Security System?

**2** He composed his first song at age 10. At Yale, he wrote the football anthems *Hail to Yale* and *Bull Dog*. After a brief, unhappy stint at Harvard Law School, he joined the French Foreign Legion during World War I. Two years later he had his first Broadway hit, the first of 20. Who is this man?

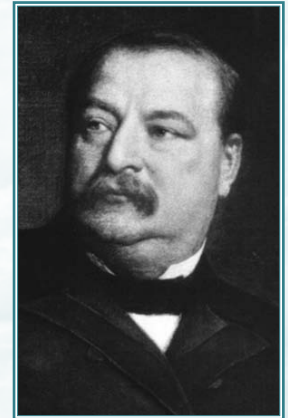
**3** A brilliant general (pictured), best remembered for his military exploits, he was also a politician of commanding presence. Elected prime minister of Britain in 1827, he was an influential adviser to King George IV, William IV and Queen Victoria and became deeply involved in all the major scandals of the time. Who is he?



**4** How did Germany justify the May 7, 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania*?

**5** Virginia, the native home of eight U.S. presidents, is called the Mother of Presidents. How many presidents hailed from the state of Ohio? Can you name three of them?

**6** What U.S. president served two terms that were not consecutive? (Pictured at right.)



**7** What president was of Welsh descent?

**8** What president was of purely Irish descent?

**9** Where did the Austronesian language family (which now extends over half the globe) get its start, according to linguists and glottochronologists?

**10** Who invented the pneumatic tire in 1845? (a) R.W. Thompson (b) John Dunlop (c) Charles Goodyear (d) Charles Macintosh.

**11** How many divorces took place in his family while Franklin Delano Roosevelt occupied the White House?

**12** (a) Who was the last king of independent Cornwall? (b) For added credit, what was an ancient name for the nearby Scilly Islands?

for of his family in the White House would stand out as the one black spot in the history of that old mansion up to that time. One of his sons was divorced three times, another twice, another once and the daughter once. Seven divorces in one family in the White House is a record that supplies its own commentary on their family life. **12.** St. Selvf (Salom) ap Erbin, Cornubia, or Cerniw, was a sub-kingdom of the greater Celtic kingdom known as Dumnonia. It was the last free British territory in the south of Britain (outside of Wales, or Cymru) to survive, absorbing into it (or being absorbed into) the remnants of Dumnonia so that the two eventually became indivisible. Cornwall was known as Cornubia during Roman and immediate post-Roman Britain. The name became corrupted by the changes in the British languages in the 6th-7th centuries. The name "Cornubia" means "people of the horn," i.e. the Land's End section of the Cornish peninsula. The Saxons called this land Corn-wealas, or "Cornwall" (wealas being the Saxon word for "foreigner," which is what they ironically applied to all Britons in their own land). Merchion ab Custennyn, son of Constantine Corneu, king of Dumnonia, was the first king of Cornwall, 443-500. He was succeeded c. 500 by Cyn-March ap Meirchion (known as King Mark), who in turn was succeeded c. 510 by St. Selvf (Salom) ap Erbin, who was drowned in a battle. (b) The territory of the Isles of Scilly in ancient times constituted the kingdom of Lyonesse. The sea level was significantly lower in those times, so that the fabled kingdom of small islands had somewhat more territory than it would have today. According to legend, Lyonesse disappeared beneath the sea, and this has led to its sometimes being identified or confused with Atlantis. Traditionally it was an extensive country with 140 churches. It is sometimes said that the name for Lyonesse in the Cornish language was "Lethowsow," but this refers only to the Seven Stones Reef, located between Land's End and the Scilly Islands, a place that is said to be all that is left of the City of Lions, one of the towns of Lyonesse.

**ANSWERS: 1.** 1935. Shortly after the 74th Congress convened in January 1935, President Roosevelt sent his "Economic Security Bill" to Capitol Hill. The proposal was transmitted to the Congress on January 17, 1935 and it was introduced that same day in the Senate by Sen. Robert Wagner (D-N.Y.) and in the House by Reps. Robert Doughton (D-N.C.) and David Lewis (D-Md.). The bill was referred to the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee. Hearings on the bill were held throughout January and February. **2.** Cole Porter. **3.** Arthur Wellesley, better known as the duke of Wellington, or "the Iron Duke," who helped defeat Napoleon at Waterloo. Shown is Francisco Goya's portrait of Wellington. **4.** Germany's reply to the U.S. note of protest stated that the ship was sunk as a self-defense measure, because the ship was armed with cannon and carried a cargo of munitions and arms. **5.** Seven: Union Gen. Ulysses S. Grant (18), Union Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes (19), Union Gen. James A. Garfield (20); these three being sequential), Benjamin Harrison (23), William McKinley (24), William H. Taft (26) and Warren G. Harding (28). The eight from Virginia are: George Washington (1), Thomas Jefferson (3), James Madison (4), James Monroe (5), William H. Harrison (9), John Tyler (10), Zachary Taylor (12) and Woodrow Wilson (28). Some Ohioans try to claim William H. Harrison, but since he was born in Virginia and only moved to Ohio, the Old Dominion has the proper claim on "Tippecanoe." **6.** Grover Cleveland of New Jersey. He was our 22nd president, then lost an election to Benjamin Harrison, and won the next election in 1892. **7.** Jefferson. **8.** Andrew Johnson (17) of North Carolina. His ancestors were from Ulster. **9.** In south China, near Taiwan. Austronesian is now extinct in mainland China, having been displaced by Chinese, but became early established in Taiwan. From there, Malayo-Polynesian, one of its several subfamilies spread to the south and became predominant in a realm stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island. **10.** (a) R.W. Thompson. **11.** If there were no other count against FDR, the disgraceful behavior of his family in the White House would stand out as the one black spot in the history of that old mansion up to that time. One of his sons was divorced three times, another twice, another once and the daughter once. Seven divorces in one family in the White House is a record that supplies its own commentary on their family life. **12.** St. Selvf (Salom) ap Erbin, Cornubia, or Cerniw, was a sub-kingdom of the greater Celtic kingdom known as Dumnonia. It was the last free British territory in the south of Britain (outside of Wales, or Cymru) to survive, absorbing into it (or being absorbed into) the remnants of Dumnonia so that the two eventually became indivisible. Cornwall was known as Cornubia during Roman and immediate post-Roman Britain. The name became corrupted by the changes in the British languages in the 6th-7th centuries. The name "Cornubia" means "people of the horn," i.e. the Land's End section of the Cornish peninsula. The Saxons called this land Corn-wealas, or "Cornwall" (wealas being the Saxon word for "foreigner," which is what they ironically applied to all Britons in their own land). Merchion ab Custennyn, son of Constantine Corneu, king of Dumnonia, was the first king of Cornwall, 443-500. He was succeeded c. 500 by Cyn-March ap Meirchion (known as King Mark), who in turn was succeeded c. 510 by St. Selvf (Salom) ap Erbin, who was drowned in a battle. (b) The territory of the Isles of Scilly in ancient times constituted the kingdom of Lyonesse. The sea level was significantly lower in those times, so that the fabled kingdom of small islands had somewhat more territory than it would have today. According to legend, Lyonesse disappeared beneath the sea, and this has led to its sometimes being identified or confused with Atlantis. Traditionally it was an extensive country with 140 churches. It is sometimes said that the name for Lyonesse in the Cornish language was "Lethowsow," but this refers only to the Seven Stones Reef, located between Land's End and the Scilly Islands, a place that is said to be all that is left of the City of Lions, one of the towns of Lyonesse.



and the conversion of the barbarian tribes. For Dawson, this conversion is significant only in its Western component, which constitutes a severe weakness in Dawson's presentation. Dawson points to the alliance between the Frankish kingdom, the Church of Rome and the Order of St. Benedict as comprising this third and important stage in the development of the European idea. This is no doubt something that a Byzantinist finds hard to swallow. Dawson's blindness to the Roman idea in the east is an omission so glaring as to severely hamper the value of the work. The Byzantine civilization, after all, was the direct descendant of Rome and evolved for 1,000 years.

Fourth, Dawson points to the development, militarily and intellectually, of Western Europe, and, specifically, the development of the idea of Western European unity under the Carolingian line. Fifth, the breakup of Western Christian unity at the Renaissance and Reformation and the concomitant rise of vulgar nationalism (or statism) and capitalism. However, though the classical unity of Europe had been destroyed, elements, such as the Latin language, and the church, which protected it, remained. Sixth, the secularization of European culture during the "Enlightenment"; and, finally, seventh, the disintegration of Europe during the 20th century, culminating in the mass slaughters of European manhood in the two world wars that marred that peculiarly modern century. Therefore, as the idea of the Christian nature of European culture as a political and social unit waned, the idea of Europe as a whole weakened proportionally; her strength was eventually sapped by the inherent dynamic of modernism.

Dawson's account is somewhat idiosyncratic and a bit myopic, but the general thrust is fully understandable: Europe is a product of the Christian imperium, and, without it, Europe, as a political and moral idea, does not exist. Neither nationalism nor the European Union is capable of saving it. Dawson's omission of Byzantium and czarist Russia's holding together the idea of the imperium during the dissolution of Western European theocracy is inexcusable, and one might believe that it has been omitted to make his own theory seem more precise, or rather, to mask another sort of nationalism just as vulgar as the 19th-century variety. Dawson conveniently

forgets that it was Czar Nicholas I who saved the Habsburg monarchy from utter dissolution after the "nationalist" revolts of 1848. The Frankish domination over the Western mind persists to this very day. The Latin language held western Christendom together until the Reformation. This Dawson takes as the apogee of unity. On the other hand, the Byzantine commonwealth was held together by the mutual profession of faith, in spite of the idea that the Byzantine idea was manifest in already existing nations, with differing languages and national customs. This example of unity, one differing from the Frankish and Ottonian version in the West, is conveniently nowhere to be found in this selection of essays, and largely absent from Dawson's work as a whole.

There is little doubt that Dawson understood the benefits of a local or national culture. However, his primary difficulty (as nationalism is generally Dawson's central enemy) is when the national culture places itself above the general civilization from which it derived. Dawson's thesis is that the religion, letters, art, architecture and languages of (western) European nations have myriad origins outside of the nations' boundaries that vitiate any quasi-moral claim to "national self-determination" that many at one time took for granted. Those origins are to be found in the concept of the civilization as a whole and only secondarily manifest themselves in local and national cultures. The local and national are the children of the supranational and civilizational. There are, of course, significant difficulties with the position, as Roman culture was never blindly adopted wholesale.

Dawson wrote before the European Union became a significant player in daily European politics, but his comments reprinted above show his contempt for the idea of an empty cosmopolitanism as much as for a vulgar nationalism, or more accurately, a "national jingoism." The supranationalism of the civilization in no way argues for the empty universalism presently in vogue among the "New World Order" crowd, whose rhetoric, in certain ways, derives from the Freemasonic "nationalists" of the 1848 and 1870 rebellions. Western culture (in the broadest sense), deriving from the Christianized Greco-Roman world, is the basis of Europe, with



*One of the most powerful manifestations of the "Idea of Europe" was the brainchild of Russian Emperor Alexander I (shown here), namely the Holy Alliance. The Russians had defeated Napoleon Bonaparte's Grand Armée and, with it, Napoleon's vision for a New World Order. Afterward, Alexander dominated the Congress of Vienna with his idea of a Christian counterrevolutionary coalition of Austria, Prussia and Russia, called the Holy Alliance. Its purpose was to stop the virus of leftist revolution throughout Europe and maintain the legitimate rights of European Christian kings.*

the national culture being a relative (but indispensable) part of it. What nationalists can take from Dawson is that, indeed, to understand the life of any national culture, one needs to look outside of its boundaries. National culture is not solely the product of indigenous resources. Who seeks the American idea without first looking to England? Or the heritage of European political thought? In no way, however, does this, in theory or practice, take away from the specific identity, culture and moral independence of specific nations. ❖

*M. Raphael Johnson is the assistant editor of THE BARNES REVIEW and well versed in Christian theology, origins and interpretation as well as being a noted czarist.*



# PROFILES IN HISTORY

## WARRIOR OF THE ETERNAL STRUGGLE: ALESSANDRO PAVOLINI

One of the guiding lights of the Italian Socialist Republic, or *Repubblica Sociale Italiano* (RSI; 1943-1945), Alessandro Pavolini was born on September 7, 1903 in Florence to the family of university professor of Sanskrit, who had also translated the Finnish saga, the *Kalevala*, into Italian.

Alessandro studied law and political science, taking doctorates in both in 1929. Also a short story writer with an interest in journalism, he joined the Florence *fascio* (the nationalist action squads) in 1920 and participated in the March on Rome on October 28, 1922. A fine example of classic Italianita (“Italianess”)—romantic charm, warmth, seriousness, sophistication, rationality combined with drama, constant emotive action and, when necessary, brutal efficiency—Pavolini rose speedily to the rank of vice secretary. He was also a lieutenant in the elite Bersaglieri Rifles of the Italian army, a provincial delegate of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* youth organization and a senior director of the *Gruppi Universitari Fascisti* (Fascist University Groups). This was one of the cultural structures endeavoring to build a new order based on the eternal absolutes of family, nation, honor and loyalty, opposed to the anti-natural internationalist system which from the time of the French Revolution has been increasingly pounded into the social fabric of Europe and America.

In 1934, he was appointed to the Grand Council of the National Fascist Party (PNF) and that same year was elected to Parliament. He also became president of the Professionals and Artists Confederation and was a member of the National Council of Fasces and Guilds. During the war against Ethiopia in 1936, Pavolini worked as a correspondent for the major Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* and was attached to the fighter squadron of his friend, and later foreign minister under Mussolini until 1943, Count Galeazzo Ciano.

He was named president of the International Trade Institute in 1938. And in 1939, Mussolini appointed him minister of popular culture, in which capacity Pavolini labored unceasingly for greater cooperation among cultural apparati and structures for the increased benefit of the Italian people.

Leaving that post in 1943, he became editor-in-chief of the major daily *Il Messaggero Roma*.

Following Italy’s humiliating betrayal by the doddering, alcoholic opportunist Pietro Badoglio on September 8, 1943, Pavolini rushed to Munich, where he and Il Duce’s (Benito Mussolini’s) son Vittorio broadcast radio messages in support of the planned RSI, of which he thereafter became a leading figure.

Once the RSI had been established, Pavolini created a new, stronger movement structure which replaced the old one, that had weakened and collapsed after Badoglio’s treachery.

After being named general-secretary of the Republican Fascist Party by Mussolini himself, Pavolini of course attended the Congress of Verona in November, 1943, during which he made major contributions and helped to further crystallize the direction which the RSI would take. Also, displaying once again his dedication to the Fascist vision and his devotion to the Italian people and nation over any and all personal considerations, he ensured that the other traitors to the

Duce and to the cause, including his longtime friend Ciano, were executed.

Militarily, he wisely favored the former Blackshirt Squad-Leader Renato Ricci over the more experienced, but much older and less energetic Marshall Rudolfo Graziani as commander of the army and the fierce, brilliant maritime officer, Valerio Borghese, leader of the elite Decima MAS Marines, as naval commander.

Due largely to the political wrangling inherent in a new government, it was forced to operate with a portion of its country aligned against it. And unfortunately, due to a degree of unnecessary interference and hostility by some elements among the German military

presence in Italy at that time (which tended to also hamper

their own commanders and actions), the problem of the Allied-supplied and -supported communist “partisans” was not able to be dealt with effectively enough. So Pavolini dissolved the army, the Republican National Guard and a large part of the Decima MAS, then rapidly formed a new, tremendously effective army integrally around the fearsome *Brigate Nere* (Black Brigades), whose initial engagement against the destroyers of the Italian fatherland he personally led.

Pavolini had the support and admiration of most of the German military and political leaders, and his bravery and tremendous courage were unquestioned. He was severely wounded while leading a Black Brigade regiment in August of 1944 but continued to fight.

By spring of 1945, the armed crusade for a Europe finally free of globalist financial and social slavery was doomed. But the stalwarts, such as Alessandro Pavolini, insisted on battling on to the death. When the Patriotic Front in central Italy finally collapsed, Pavolini and many others insisted on fighting to the end in redoubts in northern Italy. Unfortunately, resources were scanty, and the parasitic Reds and democrats, with much assistance from their Anglo-American masters, had been successful enough in spreading destruction, chaos and disinformation so that Italian and German resistance was in an impossible state of disarray. Pavolini’s end-game effort never had a chance to get started.

Along with many other Italian patriots, he was pushed into retreat, still fighting, still desperate to free his country and his people from the shackles of debt slavery and social destruction, and hoping to die in the service of fatherland and freedom. Such was not to be. Pavolini was seriously wounded by the Reds at Dongo, in northern Italy, and captured. He was thereafter murdered, at age 41, along with the Duce, the devoted cabinet minister and former National Fascist Party Secretary Achille Starace, and almost 200 other patriots, including women (like Clara Petacci, an ardent patriot and admirer of Mussolini, though never amorously involved with him as Allied “historians” insist), many of whom were first gang-raped, and boys of 18 years and under in age.

Pavolini’s body, along with the others, was hung upside down and ravaged in the Piazzale Loreto near Milan on April 28, 1945, by the savage minions of the “official” makers and writers of history. ❖

—WRITTEN BY ANTHONY J. DE GENITO



# MANNERHEIM & HITLER: THE CONTINUATION WAR

BY DANIEL W. MICHAELS

***O****f the heads of state of the major belligerents of World War II, none today enjoys universal acclaim. Hitler has been so demonized that it is even illegal in some European countries to attempt to defend any of his undertakings; Stalin is rightly cursed by the millions of victims of communism; Roosevelt is held in contempt by many Americans who are convinced that he colluded with Churchill to involve America in World War II and by many Europeans for his collaboration with Stalin in turning half of the Continent over to communist regimes after the war; Churchill too is accused of selling out East Europe to Stalin as well as for his lifelong warmongering. Even principled and astute leaders of countries that remained neutral in the War, Franco of Spain, Salazar of Portugal, De Valera of Ireland, are criticized by both victors and vanquished alike for not having joined one or the other side. Concerning Switzerland's neutrality (until recently) Winston Churchill said: "Of all the neutrals, Switzerland has the greatest right to distinction." Among other benefits of neutrality, Switzerland had always been regarded as a safe haven for the wealthy of Europe to bank their money during wartime. In recent months, however, U.S. officials and the Jewish community have unjustifiably accused Swiss banks of failing to return wartime deposits.<sup>1</sup> Only one head of state of that era—Count Carl Gustav Emil von Mannerheim of Finland—remains respected by all—and with good reason.*

**B**orn in 1867, when Finland was part of the Russian empire, Count Carl Gustav Emil von Mannerheim, who was of Swedish extraction, received a military education, first in a military cadet school, then in a Helsinki lyceum, and later in the Nikolaev Cavalry School in St. Petersburg. As an officer in the czar's army, he participated with distinction in the Russo-Japanese War, rising to the rank of colonel, in World War I as a division commander with the rank of general. After the Russo-Japanese War he was commissioned by the Russian General Staff to undertake an exploratory expedition throughout Central Asia. Another thread of Mannerheim's Russian connections was his marriage to Anastasia Agapova, daughter of czarist Gen. Nicholas Agapov. Following the Communist Revolu-

tion, however, Mannerheim, who had sworn allegiance to Czar Nicholas and who kept a picture of the murdered czar on his desk for the remainder of his life, fought with the Whites against the communist usurpers in the Finnish War of Liberation. As a young man, Mannerheim was already fluent in Swedish, Finnish, Russian, English, French, German and even some Chinese.

When Finland gained her independence and was declared a republic, it was first thought—because of considerable German support in her struggle for independence—to appoint a German prince to head the fledgling nation. But with the collapse of the monarchies in Europe after World War I, the Finnish government and people appointed war hero and freedom-fighter Mannerheim to act as regent until a gener-

al election could be held and a president sworn in. Mannerheim in middle age, in the 1920s and '30s, devoted his energies to civic matters, including the formation of the Finnish army and the establishment of the Mannerheim Line, a defensive belt across the Karelian Isthmus (the corridor between the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga) intended to shield Finland against external attack.

In 1939, at the age of 72, Mannerheim was again called upon by the Finnish people and appointed commander-in-chief with the rank of marshal of the Finnish armed forces, to lead the defense of the country against Soviet aggression.<sup>2</sup>

Although Mannerheim shared the prevailing pro-German sentiment of the Finnish people during the interwar period, he wisely chose to avoid any formal alliance



with National Socialist Germany. As a military man, it was perfectly clear to him that the balance of power existing in 1939 did not favor Germany. This astute awareness of the limitations of Germany and Finland underlay his extreme caution in undertaking any action that might provoke any of the Allied powers, namely, the USSR, Great Britain and the United States to destroy Finland. Although Finland and Germany were comrades-in-arms against a common enemy, they were never formal allies and in effect fought separate wars against the same foe. As C-in-C of Finnish Forces, Mannerheim maintained his GHQ in the southern sector in Mikkeli, while German headquarters under Gen. Dietl was situated in the north on the Arctic Circle, nearer Lapland, in the town of Rovaniemi.

Finland's struggle against the Soviet Union, which twice attacked her, occurred in two phases. In phase one, the Winter War, which lasted from November 1939 to March 1940, Finland fought alone against overwhelming Soviet forces. As a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, Germany had agreed that Finland lay in the Soviet political sphere of influence and had refrained from helping Finland. In March 1940, after frustrating repeated Soviet attempts to invade, Finland agreed to an armistice that ceded border territories to the Soviet Union, which the latter claimed were necessary for the defense of Leningrad and the Murmansk Railroad. The prelude to and the course of the Winter War has already been competently examined in these pages by Stephen Raper.<sup>3</sup>

After the Winter War, Stalin could not conceal his hostility toward the Finns. On April 17, 1940, in an address to a conference of the Soviet command staff on the experiences gained in the military action against Finland, Stalin stated:

**At the beginning of this war we put two choices to the Finns—choose one of the two: Either make substantial concessions, or we will pulverize you, and you will get the Kuusinen government [Otto Kuusinen was an old Bolshevik then residing in the Soviet Union], which will gut and replace your government.**

**This is what we told the Finnish bourgeoisie. To avoid a people's government, they chose to make concessions. Fine! It was an amicable solution. We accepted these conditions, because we obtained quite important concessions that ensured the security of Leningrad completely in the north, south and west, and which put all of Finland's vital centers at**

**risk. Now Helsingfors [Stalin always referred to Helsinki as it was called under Russian rule.] is threatened from two directions—Vyborg [Viipuri] and Hanko. As it turned out, a big plan for a big war did not materialize, and the war ended after three months and 12 days because our army performed so well and because our political pressure on Finland proved effective. Either you bourgeois gentlemen make concessions or we will give you the Kuusinen government, which will disembowel you.<sup>4</sup>**

They chose the first option—"concessions." Although publicly both Stalin and Molotov claimed to be satisfied with the terms of the armistice, they almost immediately began their efforts to bring Finland under total Russian control. By September 1940, a series of directives of the USSR Peoples' Commissariat of Defense, Gen. Timoshenko, and chief of the General Staff of the Red Army, Gen. Sapozhnikov, revealed further aggressive designs against Finland. Entitled "On the Deployment of the Red Army in the Event of War with Finland," and "Preparation of a New Operation Against Finland for the Purpose of Seizing Helsinki and an Outlet to the Gulf of Bothnia in a 35-Day Campaign," the directives, which were addressed to Stalin and Molotov, were classified "top secret," "eyes only," and "one copy only."<sup>5</sup>

**M**uch had occurred since the March Armistice. In April, German forces, under Gen. Eduard Dietl, occupied Norway to preempt the Franco-British Expeditionary Force which was about to embark from British ports. The Expeditionary Force had been organized for the dual purpose of bolstering the Finns and of blockading German raw materials imports, chiefly Swedish iron ore. The German forces, after securing Narvik and other Norwegian ports, quickly occupied the arctic port of Kirkenes in proximity to Murmansk and the nickel mines of Petsamo. One month later Germany invaded Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, culminating in the defeat of France on June 22. In mid-June of 1940, Soviet Russia occupied the Baltic states, Bessarabia and northern Bucovina. Finland remained an unresolved bone of contention between the two dictators.

Mannerheim had earlier proposed that Norway, Sweden, and Finland conclude a treaty of mutual support and neutrality which, in his opinion, would have kept the British, Germans, and Russians out.

Sweden, to protect her own neutrality, rejected the proposal. Stalin—to isolate Finland and tighten the noose—forbade the Finns from entering into any such alliance. Aware of Finland's predicament and to strengthen its own position, the German government in August 1940 secretly sent a special emissary to Mannerheim offering to lift Germany's embargo against the shipment of arms to Finland (imposed as part of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) if that country would permit the transit of German troops through its territory to northern Norway (Kirkenes) which Germany needed to protect its imports of raw materials. Desperate for the means to protect the country against imminent Soviet invasion, Mannerheim, with the concurrence of the Finnish Parliament, agreed.

Noting the change of Hitler's attitude toward Finland from coolness in 1940 to support in 1941, depending on Germany's needs, Mannerheim could not but note that small countries are always played as pawns in the game of the Great Powers. He also observed the same self-serving attitude on the part of Britain from the time in January 1940 during the Winter War, when Winston Churchill sent the following message to Mannerheim:

**Only Finland—superb, nay sublime—in the jaws of peril—Finland shows what free men can do. The service rendered by Finland to mankind is magnificent. . . . We cannot tell what the fate of Finland may be, but no more mournful spectacle could be presented to what is left to civilized mankind than that this splendid northern race should be at last worn down and reduced to servitude worse than death by the dull brutish force of overwhelming numbers. If the light of freedom which still burns so brightly in the frozen north should be finally quenched it might well herald a return to the dark ages, when every vestige of human progress during 2,000 years would be engulfed.<sup>6</sup>**

On the eve of Pearl Harbor just one year later, when Churchill's government declared war against Finland, it was the same Finland—but Germany's and Britain's needs had changed. Shortly after the German ambassador to the USSR, von Schulenburg, informed Molotov of the transit of German forces through Finland, as was required by the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, arrangements were made for the Soviet foreign minister to meet with Hitler personally in Berlin on November



***Hanko, a small but prosperous Finnish town, suffered heavily from Soviet bombs. Under the Soviet-Finnish peace treaty of 1944, the USSR took the strategic Hanko area, among others.***

12-13, 1940. It was at this meeting that Hitler decided war with the Soviet Union was inevitable.

In his proclamation of June 22, 1941, announcing the invasion of the Soviet Union, Hitler explained his reasons for entering the Russian-German Nonaggression Pact of 1939 and for attacking Russia. The pact, according to Hitler, was necessary because Britain was continuing its policy of encircling and containing Germany by an alliance with the Soviet Union. Hitler stated: "It was therefore only with extreme difficulty that I brought myself in August 1939 to send my foreign minister to Moscow in an endeavor there to oppose the British encirclement policy against Germany."

In the proclamation he also gave reasons why his attack on Russia became necessary. They included the Russian military buildup on the German border while German forces were engaged in the West; the Russian-British intelligence coup in Yugoslavia which replaced a pro-German government with a pro-Soviet one; Molotov's demands for a free hand in Romania, Bulgaria, and Finland, as well as for bases on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Specifically with regard to Finland, Molotov had stated that Russia felt menaced by Finland and was determined to eliminate the threat. Molotov wanted assurances that Germany would not aid Finland and would immediately withdraw German forces from Kirkenes. Hitler replied that another war by Russia against Finland could not be tolerated, that Germany did not want war in the Baltic area.<sup>7</sup>

In May 1941, one month before hostili-

ties commenced, Hitler sent Minister Schnurre to discuss the European situation with President Risto Ryti of Finland. To the president's question whether Germany would regard Russian aggression against Finland as [an act of war], Minister Schnurre replied in the affirmative.<sup>8</sup> Ryti made clear that under no circumstances would Finland initiate hostilities against the Soviet Union, but if attacked Finland would fight.

**T** rue to his word, President Ryti, with Mannerheim's approval, did not attack the USSR on June 22, 1941, when the Germans launched Operation Barbarossa. The Finnish government waited until, on June 25, the Soviet air force began to bomb Finnish cities, at which time they declared war and coordinated their actions with the Germans as co-belligerents rather than formal allies. It was in the Continuation War, which lasted from June 1941 to September 1944, that Finland fought alongside German forces against the Soviet Union. It was in this phase of the war that Mannerheim's stubborn independence would be felt by Stalin and Hitler alike.

German strategy in the Far North had two aims: to capture Murmansk and to sever the Murmansk Railroad. The Finns, on the other hand, wanted only to regain the territories (Karelia, Salla, Viipuri, Hanko) taken by the Bolsheviks in the Winter War. Neither the Germans nor the Finns would succeed in achieving their war aims. Because the German forces committed to these tasks had no experience in Arctic warfare and because their equip-

ment and armaments had been built for central Europe rather than Arctic conditions, they quickly sought and received support and training from Mannerheim's army. In fact, entire Finnish troop units were incorporated in the German force. In addition to the stiff resistance of the Red Army, the terrain and climate, as well as the Murmansk Railroad itself—Germany's prime target—conspired to defeat Finno-German efforts: temperatures varied from 95 degrees F in summer to -40 in winter; the tundra with its impenetrable forests, soggy underfooting and frequent heavy snowstorms was all but impassable; the long polar night hindered all operations; and the lack of adequate road or rail lines prevented adequate supplies. For German supplies even to reach Finland, they would first have to cross the Baltic Sea or travel around the North Cape. On the other hand, the Murmansk Railroad kept the Russian forces well supplied on a daily basis.

As a general rule, the Soviets would have to maintain a 7:1 advantage in men, artillery, aircraft, and armored vehicles against Finno-German forces just to hold their own. The Germans had no tanks while the Soviets had 100, including the heavy VK-85s. As long as the Murmansk Railroad remained in Soviet hands, they were able to maintain the advantage.

Less than a week after Finland entered the war, on June 29 the German *Gebirgskorps Norwegen* together with the independent Finnish Petsamo Detachment started an offensive against Murmansk. By July 1, the German XXXVI Corps (the German 169th and SS Nord Divisions, and the



Finnish 6th Division) attacked in the Salla sector with the intention of cutting the Murmansk Railroad. But these forces were exhausted after taking Salla, and the Finnish 14th Infantry Regiment had to be sent in to help. Despite this, Soviet reinforcements forced the Germans and Finns to take up defensive positions. Not until August 7 did III Corps take Kestenga on its advance to the Murmansk Railroad. By September 19, however, Soviet strength, including newly arrived Siberian troops, combined with impossible terrain conditions, persuaded the Germans and Finns to abandon the idea of cutting the railroad in the Kandalaksha sector. When Britain and the United States threatened to declare war against Finland, Mannerheim refused to commit Finnish forces in any further attempt to cut the Murmansk Railroad.

Likewise, despite German entreaties to help in the encirclement of Leningrad, Mannerheim ordered the Finnish forces to halt their advance after recovering the Karelian territory taken by the Russians in the Winter War. It is clear today that the Germans would have preferred to take Leningrad by *force majeure*, but their own troop strength, without Finnish help, was inadequate to the task. For both political and military reasons Mannerheim now ordered his troops to occupy defensive positions along the entire front. With the entry of the United States in the war in December 1941, the marshal was convinced that Germany would lose the war. Nonetheless, Finnish forces continued to fight alongside the Germans in defensive battles, though not in any new offensive operations. In the Kestenga bridgehead, the best approach to the Murmansk Railroad, German forces gradually replaced Finnish forces. Although Mannerheim had advised Hitler that the best time to launch an attack in Lapland was in late winter when the ground was frozen, the German leader, assuming Barbarossa would already be successfully concluded by that time, had attempted to cut the rail line right at the outset of the war in June, taking advantage of the surprise element. Even though the Germans failed to take Murmansk or to sever the Murmansk Railroad, they continued to maintain defensive positions in Lapland through October 1944 for several reasons, including the continued extraction of vital nickel and iron ores as well as to



*For the people of Finland, Marshal Mannerheim was the great military hero. Tall, able and still handsome, his career was legend. He represented unity, the flag and everything that was strong and good in Finland. Furthermore, because of his long association with the czar's army, he could almost read the Russian mind and anticipate the strategy that would be used by the much-hated Reds.*

launch air and sea attacks against Allied shipping in the Norwegian and Barents Seas.<sup>9</sup>

Personal relations between Mannerheim and Hitler remained cordial and correct. On the occasion of Mannerheim's 75th birthday on June 4, 1942, Hitler, accompanied by Gen. Dietl (C-in-C of German Forces in the North) and Field Marshal Keitel, flew to Finland to join in the celebration. At this meeting, after telling Mannerheim how much he appreciated meeting the liberator of Finland, Hitler expressed his regret for not having been able to support Finland in the Winter War. Germany's forces at the time, he explained, were tied down in the West, and Germany could ill afford to open a second front.

Earlier, in September 1941, Hitler had

expressed his opinion of all alliances:

**They are all just alliances of expediency. For example, the German people know that our alliance with Italy is only an alliance between Mussolini and myself. We Germans have sympathies only with Finland; we could find some sympathy for Sweden and of course with Britain. . . . A German-British alliance would be an alliance from people to people! The British would only have to keep their hands off the continent. They could keep their empire—and the world if they wanted.<sup>10</sup>**

When in early 1944 Hitler learned that Soviet-Finnish armistice talks were already under way, he stopped all arms deliveries to Finland. At a command conference on June 21, with Gen. Dietl present, Hitler expressed his disappointment that Mannerheim was withdrawing his forces. Dietl reportedly slammed his fist on the table and dismissed Hitler's criticisms as typical of a "chair-bound general" unencumbered by any expert knowledge of the terrain. He, Dietl, would fly back to Finland in any case and support Mannerheim to the hilt. After Dietl left the conference, the unpredictable Hitler turned to his staff and exclaimed, "Gentlemen—that's the kind of general I like."<sup>14</sup>

Soon after Stalingrad, Mannerheim began his quest for honorable armistice conditions from the Soviets. The conditions eventually offered were harsh (the USSR would again take possession of all territories won in the Winter War and impose heavy reparations on Finland). The Allies, the aggressors against Finland, also demanded that Finnish "war criminals" be put on trial. Among others, President Ryti was sentenced to ten years. Seventy-seven-year old Marshal Mannerheim, whose health had seriously deteriorated, was permitted to spend his remaining years in Switzerland. When the time (September 1944) came for Finland to break off diplomatic relations with Germany and demand that the German troops evacuate Finland, Mannerheim wrote a personal letter to Hitler explaining his reasons for the action:

**I wish especially to emphasize that Germany will live on even if fate should not crown your arms with victory. Nobody could give such an assurance regarding Finland. If that nation of barely four million be militarily defeated, there can be little doubt that it will be driven into exile or exterminated. I cannot expose my people to such a fate. . . .**

Our roads will probably soon part, but the memory of our German brothers-in-arms will live on. . . . In Finland the Germans have certainly not been the representatives of a foreign usurper, but helpers and brothers-in-arms, but even though that be the case, the position of foreigners is bound to be a very difficult one. . . . I regard it as my duty to lead my people out of the war.<sup>11</sup>

Hitler ordered the evacuation of all German assets through Norway, asking only safe passage. At first, under a "gentlemen's agreement," the Finns would merely followed behind the Germans until they entered Norwegian territory. Later, after the Allies insisted that Finland declare war against Germany, which they did, and that they fire on the retreating Germans, which they also did, but without their customary accuracy. But with the Russian 14th Army in hot pursuit, the Germans nonetheless razed everything in the wake of their retreat that might be of use to the Russians. Mannerheim and Hitler could not have been more different personalities, Hitler, the visionary, ideology-driven, master of surprise offensive warfare, whose reach invariably exceeded his grasp. And Mannerheim, the pragmatist, cosmopolitan, master of defensive warfare, who never lost his keen sense of only attempting that which was clearly possible of achieving. Hitler was undoubtedly right in wanting to sever the Murmansk Railroad in the first months of the war to block the flow of American Lend-Lease.

Much American equipment was used in the Lapland campaign: Ford amphibians, Bell P-39 Aircobras, Douglas A-20 Bostons, American trucks armed with Katyushka multiple rocket launchers, Higgin-Vosper patrol torpedo boats for amphibious landings and much other aid to the Soviet Union. He was wrong to believe that he could do it. The arctic climate and terrain,

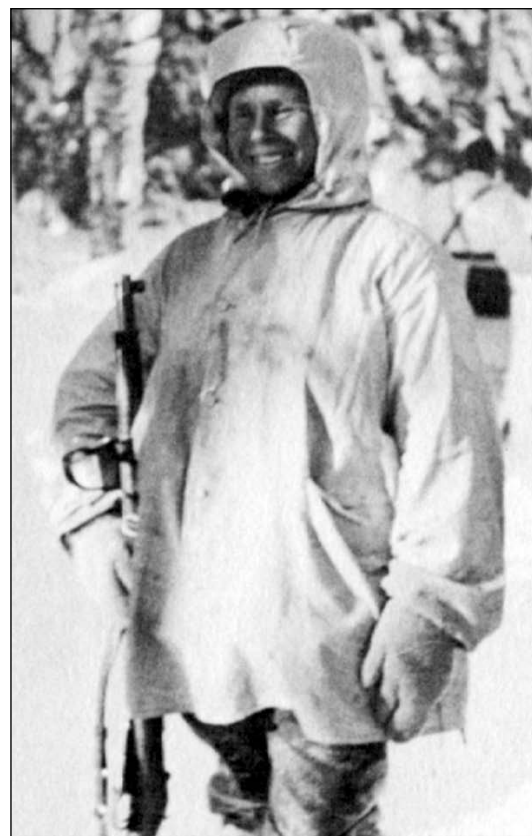
*Daniel W. Michaels was for over 40 years a translator of Russian and German texts for the Department of Defense, the last 20 years of which (1972-1993), he was with the Naval Maritime Intelligence Center. He is the author of various scientific reports and bibliographies in geo- and astrophysics and a contributor of book reviews and articles to geographical and historical periodicals. Born in New York City, he now lives in the Washington, D.C. area. He is also a contributing editor of THE BARNES REVIEW.*

the inadequacy of German forces and equipment, combined with Marshal Mannerheim's eventual refusal to advance into Soviet territory made it impossible. By temperament and his recognition of the increasing threat the Soviet Union posed for the Reich, Hitler could settle for nothing less than the total destruction of Bolshevism and the expansion of the Third Reich into eastern lands. In an attempt to accomplish this, he resorted to sudden surprise attacks and desperate military gambles. After initial successes, he failed. Mannerheim, by virtue of his personality and an awareness of Finland's limited capabilities, wanted nothing more but to win back territory the Soviet Union had seized in the Winter War and, above all, to preserve Finland as an independent nation. In the marshal's own words: "I must be cautious because the Finnish army is so small, the theater of war so gigantic and the losses suffered thus far so high."<sup>12</sup>

In the end, he failed in recovering the lost territories but he did succeed in maintaining Finland's independence.

In his memoirs Mannerheim, the universally respected guarantor of Finnish independence, left the following advice to future generations:

**What I wish to impress on the consciousness of future generations is that disunity within one's own ranks makes deeper wounds than the enemy's sword, and that internal dissension opens the door to outside attack. Finland has shown in her last two wars that a united people, even though small, can give proof of unexpected strength, thereby warding off the most cruel blows which fate can inflict. By closing its ranks in the hour of danger the Finnish nation purchased the right to continue to live its own independent life in the circle of free nations. That it did not fail in the hour of trial shows it to be sound to the core. If we remain true to ourselves in all the vicissitudes of fate, united and unswerving, clinging to those values which until this day have formed the foundation of the freedom of Finland, the faith of our fathers, the love of our country, and the determination to defend ourselves resolutely and unselfishly, then the Finnish people can face the future with calm confidence.<sup>13</sup>** ❖



***Famous Finnish sniper Simo Häyhä was the master shot of the 6th Company. He went out to hunt Russians every day. In civilian life, Häyhä was a small farmer with cabinets filled with trophies for marksmanship. Evenings, he cleaned his rifle and rarely said a word. He personally killed more than 500 Bolsheviks before he was seriously wounded.***

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>See: Angelo Codevilla. *Between the Alps and a Hard Place*. Regnery, 2001.

<sup>2</sup>*The Memoirs of Marshal Mannerheim*. E.P. Dutton & Company, Inc., New York, 1954.

<sup>3</sup>Stephen Raper. "The Winter War of 1939." TBR, Vol. 6, No. 6, November-December 2000, 35-42.

<sup>4</sup>Josef Stalin. "The War with Finland." *Zavtra*, December 17, 1996.

<sup>5</sup>Lev Bezymenskiy. "The Truth about June 22, 1941." *Komsomolskaya pravda*, June 18, 1998, 3.

<sup>6</sup>*Memoirs*, 438.

<sup>7</sup>Adolf Hitler. *Proclamation*. Cited in: *My New Order*, edited by Raoul de Roussy de Sales, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1941, 977-87.

<sup>8</sup>*Memoirs*, 406.

<sup>9</sup>James F. Gebhardt. "The Petsdamo-Kirkenes Operation: Soviet Breakthrough and Pursuit in the Arctic," October 1944, *Fort Leavenworth Papers*, No. 17, Washington, D.C., 1990.

<sup>10</sup>David Irving. *Hitler's War*. Avon Books, New York, 1990, 412.

<sup>11</sup>*Memoirs*, 494-95.

<sup>12</sup>Peter G. Tsouras. *Fighting in Hell*. Ivy Books, New York, 285.

<sup>13</sup>*Memoirs*, 518-19.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 643.



# HISTORY YOU MAY HAVE MISSED

According to *Alternative Press Review* of summer 2001, it was admitted by the late former CIA Director William Colby that 20,587 Vietnamese “activist” civilians (meaning anyone who was suspected of being connected with the Vietcong) were murdered by the CIA and Navy SEALs in a campaign of mass assassination called Operation Phoenix. “More credible estimates,” says APR, “put the number at over 40,000 civilians killed.” Says APT: “It should be emphasized that while the total number of men, women and children killed by these U.S.-backed death squads will never be known, it most certainly numbers in the millions over the last 40 years.” If you add to these figures the numbers of Palestinians and others murdered by America’s Middle Eastern ally, Israel, one has to wonder why Americans should be amazed by the killing of 6 or 7 thousand Americans and Israelis in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center in New York.



COLBY

*Science News* reports that a “10,000-year-old forest” was uncovered by sand miners in Michigan. The trees were spruces and were likely buried after the end of the last ice age. Analysis of the forest, which included well-preserved mosses, pollens, spruce cones and spruce needles among other things, will give more clues as to the conditions and climate of the region in ancient times.

According to a recent issue of *Science News*, more information about ancient Mayan society is being discovered. In the field of religion, the Maya had, it seems, mystified caves. According to James Brady of George Washington University, caves in Mayan antiquity form a “hidden landscape” and were thought to have special powers. Bone has been found in one major cave site, thought to have been used for religious rituals. Many caves are connected, forming long mazes, and include rather large and formidable underground rivers. Such a source of water may be one reason why the classical Maya attributed special powers to the caves as somehow “portals” to other forms of matter, such as water.

Does *The Chicago Tribune* know something they are not telling? *The Tribune* of February 29, 2001, carried an article on the Israeli position concerning the release of Adolf Eichmann’s papers in the midst of the Irving/

Lipstadt libel trial. Elyakim Rubenstein, Israeli attorney general—who calls all Jews “Holocaust survivors”—claims that it is a moral duty for the Israeli government to release the sealed papers of Eichmann. It is claimed that the former German functionary

says that “the Holocaust” was the worst crime in human history. Amos Hausner, whose father was the prosecutor of Eichmann, wants the release reconsidered, for he claims that there are sufficient “survivors” whose testimony is “inviolable,” and that thus Eichmann’s papers are irrelevant. Oddly, the *Tribune* claims that, if the papers fall into the wrong hands, they might give aid and comfort to “Holocaust deniers.” Such an admission seems strange

if these papers contain “proof positive” that this “heinous crime” occurred at the behest of the German Third Reich.

It seems a team of scientists recently discovered several artifacts consisting of stone tools on a beach on the coast of the Red Sea. Many of the tools were likely used to eat seafood (as the remains were found with oyster shells). The interesting thing is that these artifacts have been dated to about “125,000 years ago.” Though such dating is a highly tenuous process, the conclusion is that human beings migrated to the area much earlier than believed. What is even more interesting is that the establishment academic world has somehow twisted this rather mundane find into “evidence” for the theory that human beings originated in Africa. Of course, there is no connection between the two things. The “out of Africa” theory is merely a function of the white man’s fascination with Negro culture and morals rather than having anything to do with empirical evidence. It is shocking that the enlightened scions of science need to be reminded that “black power” is not a scientific argument.

As if we need more evidence that the Israeli state was founded solely on terror and force, an Israeli history student at Haifa University, Tedy Katz, has found new evidence of yet another massacre of non-Jews by the Holy Chosen Race, as reported in the April 2000 issue of *Middle East Affairs*. Katz interviewed villagers from Tantura, near Haifa,

who witnessed the massacre first hand. The commander of the Holy Ones was Shimshon Masbisch, no doubt reeling so much from the Holocaust that he needed to murder several hundred innocent civilians. When Katz was asked about the Israeli response to his findings, he declared: “They are too busy with other issues. They don’t like to go back 50 years. I can’t make a noise about it on my own, but if the international media demanded and insisted that this was an important event, they would respond.” Such irony proves that truth is stranger than fiction. Israelis are now not interested in massacres 50 years ago and are discounting eyewitness testimony.

In an astonishing departure from its traditional “hate Germany” haranguing, the British media recently showed a lengthy film in its “historical series” entitled *Duel*, contrasting the minds of Adolf Hitler and Winston Churchill and their behavior during World War II. With much hitherto-unknown footage, the program was highly objective, with the result that Hitler was shown as the

man of peace who never wanted war with Britain whereas Churchill was exposed as a warmonger and totally unscrupulous. The program confirmed that the Führer did in fact order his Panzers to refrain from annihilating the shattered British army on the Dunkirk beaches and decided instead to allow it to escape on the fond belief that the British would now conclude a sensible peace. But Churchill through cunning and bluster succeeded in ousting

the peace party headed by Lord Halifax and Rab Butler from the British government and began to spread the war, scheming to involve the United States.

*Renaissance* reports that archeologists have announced the discovery of the remains of an ancient British tribal queen near Driffield in Yorkshire. The burial site is possibly the earliest of its type yet found in Britain. Artifacts found there include bronze bits and five bronze rein rings, inlaid with what appears to be white coral. Among the finds was a chariot-style state carriage, indicating that the woman buried at the spot was a person of significant social stature. This brings to 15 the total number of chariot burials in Yorkshire; oddly, the only other such burial in Britain is one found in Edinburgh, Scotland.



CHURCHILL

# THE CAREER OF THE FIRST REPORTER TO COVER THE LIBERATION OF AUSCHWITZ

BY DON HEDDESHEIMER

*Boris Nikolaevich Kampov (1908-1981), who wrote under the pseudonym of "Boris Polevoy" (also spelt "Polowej"), is best known to Westerners as the first reporter to cover the Soviet "liberation" of Auschwitz. A very influential Soviet journalist whose articles, books and political opinions had been published throughout the world even before February of 1945, Polevoy remained a key player up until the time of his death.*

Here is how the famous Soviet journalist Boris Polevoy (Boris Nikolaevich Kampov) later described his legendary trip to Auschwitz:

Soviet Marshal Konev's troops were marching through western Poland and liberated first Krakow and then Oswiecim [the Polish spelling for Auschwitz—Ed.], the largest of the Nazis' death camps. The same morning we asked for a liaison plane in the front HQ. Both squeezed into the back seat and with great interest followed the route on the map during the flight. Terrible news had already reached the front's HQ about Oswiecim.<sup>1</sup>

As has been previously reported in TBR,<sup>2</sup> Polevoy's first reports are very different from later stories written about this internment camp. Polevoy's first Auschwitz reports claimed that victims were exterminated with an electric conveyor belt that electrocuted hundreds of persons simultaneously, a conveyor belt which then dropped the bodies into a flaming blast furnace. He reported enormous mass graves filled with at least four layers of bodies shot in the back of the head, and benches with straps covered with zinc so that the murdered victims' blood could be washed off, manufactured by a fictional Krupp factory.<sup>3</sup> Polevoy also reported witnessing mon-

strous torture devices, all bearing the mark of this Krupp factory in Dresden, a town that was firebombed a mere three weeks after Polevoy's stories were consumed by the world's press.

While Polevoy's first dispatches reported standing gas chambers camouflaged to look like innocent garages, he later wrote that the gas chambers at Birkenau had been blown up before the Soviet troops arrived. Polevoy wrote:

[Sergei] Krushinsky and I had been the first correspondents to visit Oswiecim, then still called by its German name, Auschwitz. We had flown in after our troops and seen this vast death camp virtually still in running order. . . . By the time Krushinsky and I reached Birkenau, all the buildings of this fake junction and the gas chambers had been blown up, and only a maze of railway tracks remained. An ordinary railway timetable was jutting out of the heaps of smashed concrete: "Train departures to Vienna . . . Belgrade . . . Paris . . . Milan." We met a Polish partisan in a railwayman's uniform and square cap who knew Russian. He told us about everything that had been going on here. He showed us the so-called bath house lying in ruins and gray mounds of something resembling charcoal mingled with white stony fragments. This was ash, human ash from the ovens—"fireplaces," as they were called here. It crackled rather strangely, as though it were moaning in pain and begging for retribution.<sup>4</sup>

A lieutenant colonel in the Soviet army from the first days of what turned into World War II, Polevoy was famous with Soviet readers as a front line reporter for Pravda. First assigned to the Finnish front, he was later stationed at Stalingrad for six months and watched Gen. Von Paulus come out of the department store basement and surrender. He followed the Red Army's advance from Kharkov through Bessarabia and on into Poland and Berlin.

The Nazi invasion was portrayed in Soviet wartime literature generally as a sneaky, dishonorable, unprovoked assault by immoral, technologically advanced barbarians. It was Good [the Soviets] defending itself from Evil, much the way the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was portrayed by American journalists as an unprovoked sneak attack. Polevoy authored diary-like accounts of his activities as a correspondent at the front interviewing Soviet soldiers and local civilians.

He reported that when the Germans took over Kharkov University they turned the buildings into pigsties, with straw and pig droppings all over the parquet floors.<sup>5</sup> Polevoy told a similar story of a school in Moldavia, which the Germans turned into a stable, setting up a shooting gallery in the yard, playing soccer with the globes,



drinking the alcohol out of jars containing zoological specimens and roasting pork on a fire fed by schoolbooks.<sup>6</sup>

"Regimental Colors"<sup>7</sup> is the story of a Red Army tank regiment that had been decimated and its eight surviving members turned into behind-the-battle-lines guerrillas. The Gestapo captured three of the surviving tank men/guerrillas, stripped them naked in the street (in the winter) and poured cold water over them until they were frozen into statues, choosing to die rather than reveal where the banner was hidden. Then the Gestapo arrested peasants and "burned their bodies with soldering irons, drove nails into their arms and legs and lopped off their ears, sliced their noses and gouged out their eyes." They too died rather than reveal where the banner was. The flag was never captured, because a gorgeous young collective farm girl had wrapped the banner in plain linen and wound it around her body, wearing it day and night until the Red Army arrived.

In "Copy of the *Pravda*"<sup>8</sup> Polevoy wrote about how much the *Pravda* newspaper was appreciated behind German lines: "There are all kinds of legends current in our village about this paper. It is said that the Germans threw it in the fire but it wouldn't burn; then they tried to drown it in the river, but it wouldn't drown. So they became furious, crumpled it, pushed it into a shell and fired the shell; but the paper wasn't lost, and now there are thousands of them."

"Mother"<sup>9</sup> is the story of Sarah Feinstein, who fled from the city to a small peasant village and eluded the Germans by pretending to have typhus. A German army doctor had the "typhus-infected" house burned down—with her in it—and later a detachment of Gestapo men threw a cordon around the village and searched, house to house. "Mother" escaped with the help of all her new "sons" and "daughters" in the village.

Refugees told how in the town of Sebezh:

... The Germans herded the Jews into the synagogue, locked the doors and set the building afire. In Nevel they forced hundreds of Jewish families on to a narrow sand-pit and then sent two heavy tanks there, which crushed the people under their tracks. Flying from the tanks, the people dove into the water, and German soldiers fired at them from the shore. The water in the lake became crimson.<sup>10</sup>



*A human symbol of the failures of the February Revolution, radical young lawyer Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky (1881-1970) came to power in 1917 as a Duma deputy. He moved on to become minister-president, only to preside over the demise of his own government.*

One of Polevoy's dispatches during the Battle of Berlin was entitled "Front-line at the Eisenstrasse," which was described as an avenue lined with old beech trees running through no-man's-land. A curly-haired little German girl, aged two or three, was trapped between the front lines, all alone and crying. She was rescued by a Soviet soldier, who was mortally wounded by an SS bullet because of performing this heroic deed. The fact that there was no Eisenstrasse in Berlin was remedied some 30 years later, when the East German authorities decided he must have meant "Elsenstrasse."<sup>11</sup>

One wartime yarn<sup>12</sup> described a special "automatic flogging machine" with another zinc-covered table to make it easier to wash off the blood, manufactured by a fictional Omega factory in Dresden:

As soon as the victim was on the table, these metal half-hoops gripped him and pressed him down. Then a turn of this indicator on the table, showing the number of blows, set that drum with steel rods revolving. The rods would catch on the bar and bend. Then, with the revolution of the drum, they would be released and whip down on the victim's back. . . . If any Pole, Czech, Belgian or Liechtensteiner, worker or engineer, broke one of [the] rules, the German overseer would write him out a neat slip, a flogging coupon so to speak, with a ration of blows. When they returned from work, the man—yes, the man himself—had to go to the camp offices, and the German on duty to whom he gave the coupon would perform the automatic flogging. . . . And if anyone resisted or found himself too exhausted to move or work, then he'd find himself in the black train, which ran twice a month between these parts and the famous Oswiecim. There he'd be burned in Birkenau ovens as industrial waste that was of no more use to *Gross Deutschland*.

The protagonist went on to insist that his landlord had received 15 strokes from the flogging machine for the infraction of leniency to the workers.

Polevoy's most popular and most published work was *The Story About a Real Man*, which was made into a popular Soviet motion picture and for which Polevoy was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1951.<sup>13</sup> Written shortly after the war, this semi-documentary "true" novel's protagonist was Alexei, a Soviet pilot who was downed in combat behind enemy lines and lost both of his feet to gangrene before being rescued by partisans. While being rehabilitated in a Moscow hospital, he was inspired by another wounded comrade, Commissar Vorobyov.

This commissar told Alexei of socialist heroes who had overcome similar difficulties, going on to hold important party posts. This commissar arranged with some friends to give Alexei a chance. Alexei learned to use artificial feet and learned to fly an airplane again. Reassigned to his old air force unit he was sent into battle against the Richthoffen Squadron. In the book's climax Alexei shot down his opponent because the Richthoffen man flinched. Always acting in what would today be called a politically correct manner, when Alexei found himself behind enemy lines he stayed behind enemy lines, and as a pilot he risked his life to conserve fuel for the war effort.

The story was translated into many lan-

guages all over the world. A Soviet literary magazine reported handwritten copies of it were made by [North] Vietnamese fighters, and there exists a copy pierced by a bullet and stained by the blood of a [communist] Greek partisan.<sup>14</sup> Because of the publicity and resulting scrutiny surrounding *The Story of a Real Man*, the public wanted to know who the people in this true story really were. Polevoy was able to produce a pilot who lost his feet but eventually had to admit that the other leading character in the book, Commissar Vorobyov, existed only in Polevoy's imagination.<sup>15</sup>

Often Polevoy's stories began with words such as, "Nothing has been invented," or, "All of the people in this book really lived," or, "There is nothing imaginary in this book." Of course we cannot take these statements literally. Polevoy used his personal narrative and eyewitness-account style as a literary device, to give the appearance of being true or real to the products of his own imagination. The conclusions became believable because they evolved naturally from the facts. Commissar Vorobyov, the nameless major in Hitler's captured bunker, the fictional torture device factories in Dresden, the nonexistent Berlin street where Polevoy witnessed a skirmish are all examples of a recurring verisimilitude in Polevoy's stories.

Besides using fictional characters interspersed with real people in his "eyewitness reports" as Polevoy told the readers how, where and when he met the heroes in his stories, Polevoy shaped his stories to try to grab the reader's emotions. Wherever there is chicken soup, there is a tale of a dead chicken. Most people do not think it is important how a chicken died and are not predisposed to question the accuracy of a story about the death of a chicken. In *The Story of a Real Man*, when the hero Alexei ate some chicken soup, Polevoy wove in a yarn about a chicken, and the story became:

**There was an old lady in the village. The Germans had shot her whole family, all except for one chicken. This chicken hid up in the loft whenever the Germans came and was nicknamed "Partisanka" by the villagers. The old lady killed Partisanka to give Alexei chicken soup.**

Thus the giving of chicken soup to a soldier is turned into a momentous, sacrificial,

## POVERTY IN COMMUNIST RUSSIA



**T**he economy of communist Russia was in a slump in 1929. The demobilization of 6 million Red Army soldiers increased unemployment from 640,000 in 1923 to more than 1.5 million in 1929. Rural poverty drove many desperate people from the farms into the cities, despite the shortage of jobs. Moscow alone gained 100,000 new residents per year. Major urban centers experienced acute housing problems, with not enough spaces and chronic disrepair in overcrowded occupied dwellings. The homeless population overwhelmed social services. Gangs of homeless orphans, the besprizorniki, such as the boys seen here, contributed to the serious rise in crime as they, and the unemployed adults, fed an expanding corps of thieves, hoodlums and prostitutes.

almost sacramental occasion.

It would be interesting to read Polevoy's dispatches from the Russo-Finnish front. None of his written works during that early period is available in English. But Soviet press reports of that period that we now know not to be true about the Finns are worth a passing mention. The Soviet Embassy in the United States in 1943 charged the Finns, like the Germans, with the commission of terrible crimes in occupied Russian territory. The Finns were said to have "exterminated local inhabitants systematically and according to plan. Without sparing old folks, women and children, they confine thousands of persons in concentration camps, where they are doomed to death and subjected to tortures."<sup>16</sup> The regime in Finnish concentration camps, it was alleged, was as brutal as

in those that have made the German Nazis infamous.<sup>17</sup>

There were earlier reports of Finns starving civilians and of Soviet prisoners and Jews being sent to Finnish concentration camps.<sup>18</sup> A Swedish trade paper, *Arbataren*, claimed to be "the first Scandinavian paper to reveal the plight of Finnish Jews." In response to charges made by the Finnish Legation that this paper was communist and was spreading false rumors, Kurt D. Singer, U.S. correspondent for *Arbataren*, charged that the Finnish Legation was spreading pro-Axis propaganda and attempting to cover up Finland's anti-Jewish activities.

After the war Polevoy was a correspondent for *Pravda* throughout the Nuremberg trials.<sup>19</sup> He reported that the Soviet prosecutor introduced a human head into



evidence with long, swept-back hair. The head was shrunk in some incomprehensible way to the size of a large fist and was mounted on an elegant marble base under a bell-jar. It was introduced into evidence as one of the ornaments and knickknacks made by some of the monstrous “craftsmen” in a concentration camp, which were then presented as souvenirs to distinguished visitors by the camp chief. The prosecutor claimed that the prisoner who caught the gentleman or lady visitor’s eye was killed, the brain and crushed bones of the head were extracted by some technique through the neck, and the head was shrunk by some process, stuffed and mounted as a statuette or ornament.

Lev Smirnov, the Soviet prosecutor, elicited the testimony of a certain Sigmund Mazur, a “scientist” from a Konigsberg research institute. This “scientist” described how the laboratories of the institute

searched for the rational industrial utilization of human flesh, fat and skin, the products of the gigantic “death camps.” Mazur was quoted: “Human skin is not covered by hair and thereby lends itself extremely well to processing, from which, in comparison with animal hides, a number of costly operations may be omitted. . . . After cooling, the boiled mass is poured into the usual molds, and the soap is ready.”<sup>20</sup>

There was an exhibit of human skin in various stages of processing: freshly flayed, cleaned of flesh, tanned and, finally, furnished leather articles: elegant ladies’ shoes, handbags, briefcases, blotting pads and even jackets. Boxes of different kinds of soap were also lying on the tables: ordinary soap, household soap, baby soap, industrial soap and fragrant toilet soap in attractive, colorful wrappings.

While we now know that the preceding stories are not true, they were presented as

evidence by the prosecution at Nuremberg and were believed by the judges and the general public at the time as well as the reporters covering the trial from all of the occupying powers. [At least the judges and the reporters pretended to believe these tales.—Ed.]

In addition to the Stalin Prize, Polevoy received many awards, including three Orders of Lenin, two Red Banners, the Red Star, Gold Medal of the World Peace Council and Hero of Socialist Labor. He edited a youth magazine and in his later years served as secretary of the politically powerful USSR Union of Writers, a post he held at the time of his death. Born in Moscow, the son of a physician and of Jewish extraction, Kampov-Polevoy was one of a group of Soviet writers who were given their start by Maxim Gorky [1868-1936].<sup>21</sup> “Gorky,” which means “bitter” in Russian, was the pseudonym adopted by this active Bolshevik and close personal friend of Lenin. Gorky was both the authority on the complex relationship between political and literary issues that is so apparent throughout the history of Russian literature and the most important link between pre-revolutionary literature and Soviet literature.<sup>22</sup>

Gorky and other Soviet writers set out to create a literature expressing the ideals and furthering the goals of the Bolshevik revolution. He saw “the people” rather than religion as the only inexhaustible spring of spiritual values. “This concept of the people, and the new communist Russia they belonged to, gave rise to a feeling for the mother country which could lead people to dedicate their lives to it.”<sup>23</sup> The goal of this school of Soviet writers was to produce a literature that would instill within the masses the kind of loyalty and dedication for the Soviet regime that they had once felt for religion. These goals developed in the 1920s were followed by Gorky’s disciples and were a profound influence on Soviet literature through the 1940s and ’50s.

When Gorky corrected many small points in one of Polevoy’s manuscripts, probably “The Forge Shop,” on January 10, 1928, Gorky wrote that “just as a lathe worker shapes wood or metal, the literary man must know his material language and words,”<sup>24</sup> and advised young Soviet writers such as Polevoy to follow the examples of

## MORE DEATHS AT DACHAU . . .



The U.S. Army mass murdered hundreds of guards at the Dachau camp at the time of “liberation.” Many of the guards were not even members of the SS, but were men who were by mere chance dispatched there after the original contingent of SS guards had fled. The American soldiers, just after walking into the Dachau camp, without questioning the guards, after carefully disarming the guards, mowed them down in windrows—530 people in the space of 10 minutes. The GIs then went over to the guards’ dispensary and sub-machine-gunned the occupants, some 80 of them, while the victims were unable to even get out of bed. The dispensary patients, whom the soldiers didn’t question, included multiple amputees who had been transferred from the front—so desperate was the German government for manpower—and some were aged Roman Catholic nuns, who had been employed in the camp’s sanitation department.

# Global Panorama *THE BRONZE AGE IN EGYPT*



## EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS MARCH OUT

from a fortress in Nubia to subdue the natives, left. Most Egyptian soldiers were infantry. Chariots existed from the New Kingdom onward, but there was no cavalry. In the Old Kingdom, a navy existed but not as a fighting force; it served as an auxiliary branch of the army, carrying troops and materiel.

AT RIGHT IS AN ARTIST'S conception of royal Egyptian life in the bronze age. At Maru-Aten, the Palace of the Summer Pool, Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) relaxes with his wife, Queen Nefertiti, and his family. Although Akhenaten is very frequently credited with "inventing" monotheism, this view is subject to historical Revisionism. It

seems his great-grandfather "Amenhotep II and his son Tuthmosis IV had begun the process of regenerating the ancient solar cult that had existed 1,000 years before, under the pyramid-building monarchy of the Old Kingdom." So says Joann Fletcher in her 2000 book *Chronicle of a Pharaoh: The Intimate Life of Amenhotep III*.



the past classical writers of the Russian language.

Young Boris Nikolaevich Kampov may have chosen the pen name of "Boris Polevoy" to invoke the classical 19th-century Russian writer Nikolai Polevoi. Nikolai Polevoi wrote fiction about famous historical events, changing and distorting facts in the story. In the introduction to "An Oath at the Holy Sepulcher," a historical novel by Nikolai Polevoi first published in 1832, the earlier classical Polevoi provides this imaginary dialogue between the reader and the author:

**Reader:** Should we believe everything you will tell us? You speak of a true story, but, perhaps, all this will turn out to be fiction.

**Nikolai Polevoi:** What is the problem? Check [up on] me.<sup>25</sup>

—A very good piece of advice to us from the 19th-century Nikolai Polevoi to apply to the communist journalist and novelist who adopted his name. ♦

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *The Final Reckoning*, by Boris Polevoy, 144.
- <sup>2</sup> "The Soviet Discoveries at Auschwitz" by Udo Walendy, TBR, July 1998, 3 to 8.
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.abbc.com/aargh/engl/FaurArch/Rf980616eng.html> and also <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Auschwitz/documents/Pravda020245.html>.
- <sup>4</sup> *The Final Reckoning*, by Boris Polevoy, 161.
- <sup>5</sup> "From Belgorod to the Carpathians," from *A Soviet War Correspondent's Notebook*, by Boris Polevoi, Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1945.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.
- <sup>7</sup> *To the Last Breath*, by Boris Polevoi, Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., London: New York 1945.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 60 to 63.
- <sup>10</sup> *To the Last Breath*, by Boris Polevoi, 61, paragraph two from the top.
- <sup>11</sup> Boris Polevoy, "New Works by S Dangulov," *Soviet Literature*, Vol. N-2, 1980.
- <sup>12</sup> *Soviet Literature*, Moscow, 1948, B Polevoi, Three Stories.
- <sup>13</sup> *The Story About a Real Man*, originally published in English in 1952 by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. Reprinted in 1970 by Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.
- <sup>14</sup> *Soviet Literature*, Vol. 4, 152-56, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1968.
- <sup>15</sup> *Soviet Literature*, Vol. 4, 1968, 154.
- <sup>16</sup> *New York Times*, December 30, 1943, 3, "Finnish Atrocities Charged by Russia."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *New York Times*, December 6, 1942, 42 and also December 13, 1942.

<sup>19</sup> *The Final Reckoning: Nuremberg Diaries*, by Boris Polevoi, Progress Publishers, 1978.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>21</sup> "In Memoriam, Boris Polevoy," by Vadim Kozhevnikov. *Soviet Literature*, Vol. N-11, 1981, 189-91.

<sup>22</sup> *Gorky, His Literary Development and Influence on Soviet Intellectual Life*, by Irwin Weil, Random House, New York, 1966.

<sup>23</sup> *The Evolution of Russia* by Otto Hoetzsch, Thames and Hudson, London, 1966, 196 and 197.

<sup>24</sup> *Gorky, His Literary Development and Influence on Soviet Intellectual Life*, by Irwin Weil, Random House, New York, 1966, 116.

<sup>25</sup> "Fact and Fiction in the Romantic Historical Novel" by Dan Ungurianu, *The Russian Review*, July, 1998, 380-84.

Don Hedgesheimer of Ohio is a noted Revisionist historian and a longtime contributor to *THE BARNES REVIEW*. For example, he wrote about the imaginary holocaust of 6 million European Jews during World War I in the February 1997 issue of this magazine.





## THE 'ORADOUR MASSACRE' IN PHOTOGRAPHS

*Maj. Kämpfe, pictured above left, was kidnapped by the so-called "French resistance," who were actually terrorists. Called the "maquis," these Marxist revolutionaries killed the German major and, contrary to the professional hack historians, provoked the German retaliation against the city of Oradour, France. Above right, the French, as with most of the world, continue to live under the establishment's cloud of mythology concerning World War II. Here is pictured*



*a monument to those said to have been "slaughtered" by the "German war criminals" at Oradour. Below left, this church is allegedly where the "German war criminals" slaughtered hundreds of women and children by setting it on fire. As it turns out, the Germans did not set the place on fire. Below at right is the burnt-out car said by some to be the car of Dr. Jacques Desourteaux, one of the mayor's sons, on the Champ de Foire. Others say this is actually the car of a wine merchant.*



# A NEW, UNBIASED ANALYSIS OF THE 'MASSACRE AT ORADOUR'

TRANSLATED FROM *NATIONAL ZEITUNG*

A horror-stricken scream recently reverberated throughout the German mainstream press that a "Nazi war-criminal," who had been convicted 15 years ago in East Berlin, had been released by court order. The man in question is the 84-year-old, seriously ill Heinz Barth, who is accused of having participated in the "Massacre of Oradour." Not mentioned is the fact that Erich Honecker had orchestrated a show trial at a time when, as chief of the late and unlamented German Democratic Republic, he wanted to curry favor with the powers in Washington.

The question of guilt for the carnage in Oradour is still disputed among historians. It is claimed that, on June 10, 1944, members of the Waffen-SS marched into the French village of Oradour with the intent to slay the entire population for no reason at all. The men were allegedly shot with machine guns. Women and children were burnt alive in the village church.

Altogether 642 victims, among them 300 children, are said to have perished.

Oradour was a center of illegal communist partisans who acted with utmost brutality. Yet the village was entered into the annals of history as a synonym for German atrocities. Already in 1944 an illustrated commemorative French paper was circulated about children who had been nailed to doors there by German soldiers.

Eventually these altogether-too-clumsy accusations were disavowed. But still in 1985 a magazine asserted the Germans had stuck little children in ovens in Oradour. In the scope of a TV program, *The Germans in World War II*, Oradour was presented as a Waffen-SS atrocity, the worst war-crime of the western war zone. The thousands of French men who did not survive the postwar 1944-45 "Freedom Cleansing" carry no weight in the minds of today's TV historians.

The events in Oradour are surrounded by a wall of silence. The Germans who were there have generally remained silent. The French partisans, no less involved, have also been silent. Charles de Gaulle ruled that all documents are to be sealed until far into the 21st century.

An Oradour tribunal before the French military court was held in 1953 in Bordeaux. Twenty-one former Waffen-SS soldiers were charged, among them 14 from Alsace. The court imposed many death and life sentences. However, shortly thereafter, the French government declared an amnesty when the population protested. Thanks to this, the condemned were all set free.

According to the company leader in charge of the Waffen-SS

Division *Das Reich*, the company had met with resistance in Oradour. Therefore the village was captured, and a thorough search of the houses was conducted. A German officer, whom the partisans had kidnapped, was later found murdered. Weapons and ammunition had been discovered. For this reason the company commander had given the order to shoot all men in the village who had been found to be *maquisards* (French partisans).

During this time the women and children had been locked up in the church for their protection while the village was torched.

Hidden ammunition in almost all the houses caused them to blow up. Tragically, the fire in the village reached also the church; in its roof was also hidden ammunition. This was the reason why the church quickly burned and the women and children perished.

The Germans immediately ordered an investigation by court-martial against the company commander who had been in charge at Oradour. However, it could not be carried to completion, because he was killed at the Normandy front. Whether he had "sought death" is disputed.

Journalist Herbert Taege has conducted a thorough investigation of Oradour. The title of his book is *Who Is Cain?* After intensive probes of all existing documents, Taege came to the conclusion that the report of the company chief is essentially correct: The incident cannot be called a German war-crime. Oradour was by no means a peaceful, sleepy village but instead a hotbed of French partisans under the leadership of a communist captain named Guingoun. These bandits had committed a long string of violent acts against German soldiers, contrary to international law.

When the Waffen-SS, whose average age was 18-19 years, many of them from Alsace, marched into Oradour to free a bearer of the Knight's Cross

who had been kidnapped, they found unmistakable signs of heinous war-crimes committed by the partisans: the mutilated corpse of the German officer, as well as an army ambulance burnt by the partisans with all the wounded, and the driver, who had been tied to the steering wheel.

The search of the houses in Oradour (according to Taege) had indeed brought forth an enormous cache of weapons and ammunition. The partisans in the village had also offered resistance. Finally, the church was by no means torched by the German soldiers. The partisans were responsible for the death of these innocent civilians.



*Gen. Heinz Lammerding was commander of the Second SS Panzer Division. Present at Oradour, he was condemned to death in absentia by the French for another incident in the town of Tulle.*





# THE CIVIL WAR DIARY

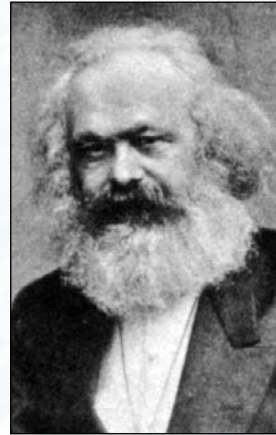
## ABE LINCOLN & THE INCOME TAX

**I**N 1862, ABRAHAM LINCOLN INAUGURATED THE NATION'S FIRST INCOME TAX LAW. The tax was to be used to continue the war against the states, and was styled an "excise tax" to avoid the constitutional prohibition found in Article I, Section 9. Not satisfied with the flat-rate tax he got, within two years, Lincoln asked for a graduated income tax. Passage of this tax by Congress was to be a temporary measure. However, it remained in effect until 1872. In 1848, Karl Marx published The Communist Manifesto (actually authored by Frederick Engels), in which a key plank was a graduated income tax on the people. There is reason to believe Lincoln drew his inspiration for the income tax from The Communist Manifesto.

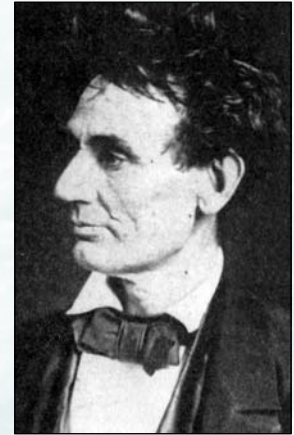
During the war, Marx wrote a column for The New York Daily Tribune, which was edited by Horace Greeley and was the nation's leading abolitionist newspaper. Greeley greatly influenced both Lincoln and his Cabinet. Marx called for the continuation of the war, hoping it would cripple the British textile industry and pave the way for unemployment and revolution in Old Blighty.

An ill-fated attempt at violent revolutions swept across Europe in 1848. After their collapse, many of the revolutions' leaders and advocates fled to the United States. Interestingly, 1848 was the year the abolitionist movement in America turned from being a peaceful movement to a violent one. One of the fleeing supporters of European revolution was Ralph Waldo Emerson, who sought to free the South's slaves via a violent insurrection. Eleven years later, Harpers Ferry in Virginia was attacked by John Brown and his gang, helping to ignite the fire which was to become the Civil War.

—FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN: A VIEW FROM THE SOUTH, JERRY L. WEST

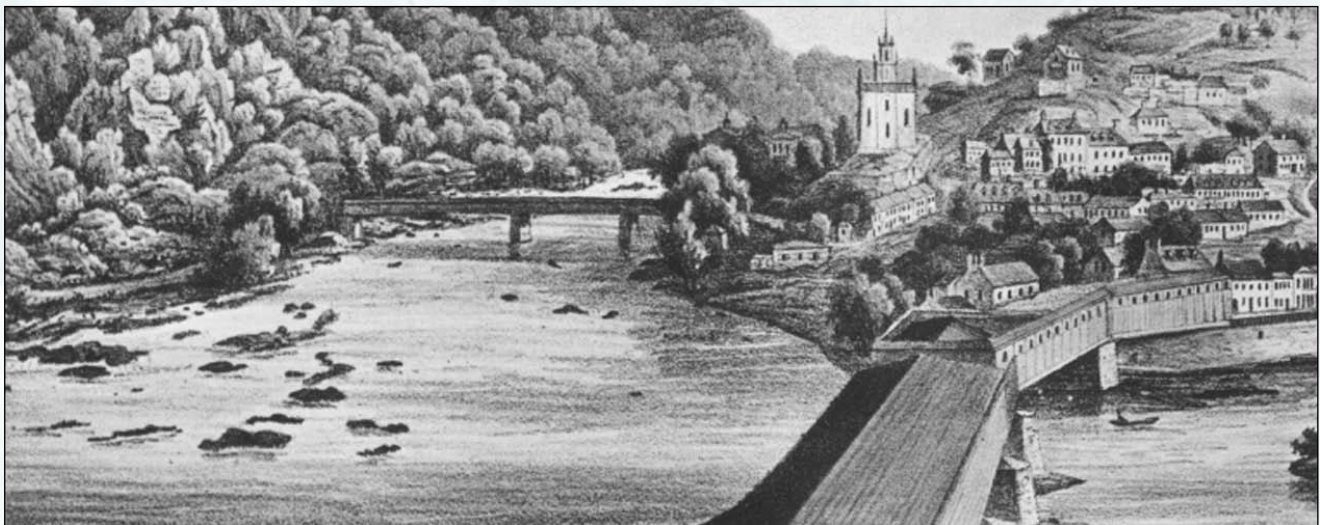


KARL MARX



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

... Did Marx inspire Lincoln?



Harpers Ferry was the site of much Civil War conflict as the armies of both North and South fought to control the Baltimore & Ohio rail link to the west. It was also the site of John Brown's famous raid that sought to seize guns and ammunition to enable a slave revolt—perhaps inspired by European expatriates.

# EDUARD BENES— THE BOHEMIAN PAWN

BY DANIEL W. MICHAELS

***For those who never knew as well as those who have preferred to forget, Eduard Benes was the pathetic pawn installed as president of Czechoslovakia in the interwar period by the victorious Allies of World War I. Benes's two main contributions to Central European history will be remembered as the brutal expulsion of 3.5 million ethnic Germans from their ancestral homes and the surrender of Czechoslovakia to Stalin's Soviet Union.***

Both Eduard Benes and Czechoslovakia were creatures of the Paris Peace Conference, specifically the Treaty of Saint-Germain, which engineered the destruction of the benign Austro-Hungarian empire and the establishment of “independent” successor nation-states.<sup>1</sup> The Austro-Hungarian empire, as the Czech conservative Frantisek Palacky had remarked prophetically at the time of the Congress of Vienna (1848), was indispensable to prevent further Russian expansion into Europe<sup>2</sup>: “Imagine Austria dissolved into a number of republics and smaller republics—what a welcome foundation for the Russian universal monarchy!”

Precisely one of those republics Palacky had warned against, Czechoslovakia, which was geographically based on the former Bohemian and Moravian districts of the empire, was a totally artificial construct—a contrived state that had never before existed and which was populated by diverse peoples—Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians, Gypsies and Jews—separated from each other by virtue of religion, race, history and religious preference.<sup>3</sup>

Czechoslovakia was invented, primarily at the insistence of the French (Clemenceau promised to support Benes's independent Czechoslovakia in exchange for Czech troops to fight against Germany), to

punish and weaken vanquished Germany by putting millions of ethnic Germans under the rule of countries (Poland and France included) hostile to Germany.<sup>4</sup>

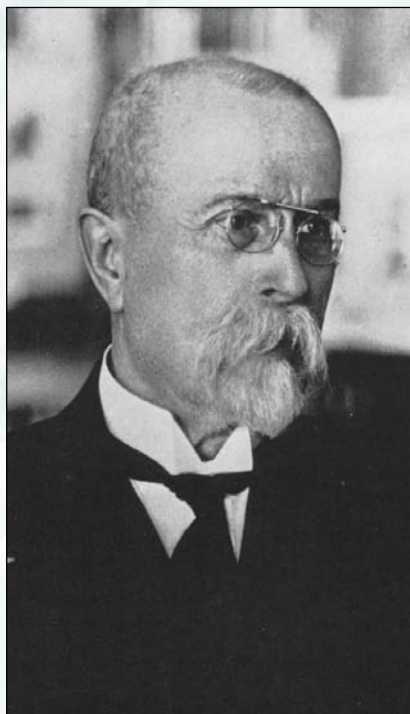
Benes, and his predecessor Tomas G. Masaryk,<sup>5</sup> served at the pleasure of the Allies and only as long as they deemed acceptable, as later history and the Munich Pact proved. It is now generally recognized that the Treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Trianon were unfair, excessively punitive, and laid the groundwork for World War II. The failed policies, however, reflected only too truly the Zeitgeist of the interwar period.

In addition to being made custodian of 3.5 million German citizens, Czechoslovakia, with the approval of the western powers, allied with Romania and Yugoslavia to form the Little Entente, whose mission it was to contain Germany. The prevailing influences at the time were Freemasonry, with its anti-Catholicism and hostility toward the Austro-Hungarian empire (Benes was perhaps the foremost figure in the Freemasonry of Central Europe; Masaryk belonged to the French Grand Orient Lodge); anti-Germanism, which sought the destruction of the German empire and German power; communism, which was waiting and planning for the capitalist states to destroy one another; and racial chauvinism, including a very



*Eduard Benes, president of the artificial nation of Czechoslovakia, poses in a U.S. tank at the Army Training Center at Fort Knox in 1943. During Benes's sojourn in America, which lasted from May 7 to June 9, 1943, he had ample opportunity to talk with FDR. Benes particularly wanted to obtain FDR's approval for solving the Sudeten German problem by brutally transferring most of the ethnic Germans into what remained of the Reich. He got Roosevelt's backing more easily than he expected.*





*Prof. T.G. Masaryk (shown here), while still in America, was elected in 1918 as the first president of the Czech Republic by the self-declared Czech parliament, or National Assembly. Dr. Eduard Benes was confirmed as foreign minister, and he continued to represent the country in international conferences, especially in Paris, where he was in residence. Maj. Milan Rostislav Stefanik, now promoted as general of the Czechoslovakian army and confirmed as war minister, was at this time in Siberia dealing with the difficulties of the Czechoslovak Army Corps, which was still fighting the Bolsheviks despite the end of the war in the west and the independence of the motherland. After the elevation of Masaryk to the presidency, the effective power in the new state passed into the hands of the new prime minister, D.K. Kramar, the hero of the domestic resistance, though he was not leader of the majority party. Later on, Masaryk became the foreign minister; but when the communists took over, he committed suicide as a last desperate measure rather than serve a communist regime. The new rulers were embarrassed but not endangered by his self-sacrifice.*

dangerous pan-Slavism (Benes was both anti-German and pan-Slav, with Russians, Czechs and Serbs being more equal than the other Slavs); and Wilsonian democracy, which none of the Old World nations paid any attention to and which the United States had no intention of enforcing.

Of 23 conditions of peace announced by President Wilson, including the Fourteen Points and the Four Principles, 19 were violated by the Paris treaties, especially with respect to self-determination, which principle was reserved for Slavs only, not Germans. Of course, Wilson had by then suffered a series of strokes and was incapacitated. It is ironic and sad that in both world wars, the United States was led by sheltered paralytics who—by virtue of their privileged position in society and their infirmity—had little contact with the real world and had to rely on uninformed or treacherous advisers. Benes, despite all his Bohemian shrewdness, deviousness and duplicity, could only be a pawn in presiding over his bogus country. His political contemporaries, after all, were all heavyweights: Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, Josef Stalin and Adolf Hitler! Benes's policy at any particular juncture usually conformed to that of whichever of those historical figures appeared most powerful at the moment. Initially, it was Roosevelt and Churchill, but in the end it was Stalin. If Czechoslovakia were ever to be a viable state, it would have had to be patterned after Switzerland, with local autonomy and equal rights for its component ethnic groups. Benes was shrewd enough to recognize this and give lip service to the concept. Dr. Benes even went on record on this issue at Saint Germain:

**In creating the organs of the Czechoslovak state, it is the intention of the government to accept as a basis of national rights the principles applied in the constitution of the Swiss republic.**

By 1937, however, Benes had "modified" his policy<sup>6</sup>:

**When we say that Switzerland will be a model for Czechoslovakia . . . this does not mean the creation of a new Switzerland with identical institutions, but precisely to the contrary the creation of a state with institutions which take into account the special situation in Bohemia.<sup>7</sup>**

By this time Benes's policy of installing

Czechs (urban, Protestant, industrialized, liberal Bohemians) in key governmental positions was well advanced and the Slovaks (Catholic, agrarian, conservative), Germans, Poles, and Hungarians were being gradually disenfranchised and discriminated against. Viscount Walter Runciman, a confidant of Prime Minister Chamberlain, in a report to the prime minister on the situation in late 1938:

**It is a hard thing to be ruled by an alien race. . . . Czechoslovak rule in the Sudeten areas for the last 20 years has been marked by tactlessness, lack of understanding, petty intolerance and discrimination, to a point where the resentment of the German population is inevitably moving in the direction of revolt. . . . Czech officials and Czech police, speaking little or no German, were appointed in large numbers to purely German districts. . . . Czech firms are favored against German firms in the allocation of State contracts and the state provides work and relief for Czechs more readily than for Germans.<sup>8</sup>**

By the time of the Munich Pact in 1938, all parties involved in the cesarean birth of Czechoslovakia, including Benes himself, agreed that the Sudeten Germans were entitled to live under German rule. Under the wise leadership of Neville Chamberlain, Britain was beginning to rectify some of the totally unjust provisions of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon. However, during Roosevelt's second administration, and especially after Winston Churchill assumed power, the war drums were beaten louder and louder until, ultimately, Britain declared war against Germany. After the war, Chamberlain, to his everlasting credit, continued to insist that the provisions of the Munich Pact remained valid and that the boundaries established at the Paris Peace Conference were unjust. He was ignored, of course, and the pact annulled.

After Munich, Czechoslovakia disintegrated rapidly. Poland occupied the Polish district of Teschen, and Hungary ensured the safety of ethnic Magyars. Benes went into exile and later lectured at the University of Chicago. Unfortunately, he was to return to power after Germany's defeat.

Early evidence of Benes's deference to Soviet Russian power manifested itself soon after Czechoslovakia was established, when the Red Army, under Marshal Mikhail Nikolaevich Tukhachevsky (1893-1937), invaded Poland in 1920. Adm. Hor-



*In 1918, World War I ended, Austria-Hungary collapsed, and an independent Czechoslovak republic was established. The new republic included Bohemia and Moravia, part of Silesia and Slovakia; the eastern region of Ruthenia became part of Czechoslovakia the following year. Here, Tomas Masaryk returns to Prague in late 1918 to become Czechoslovakia's first president.*

thy, the Hungarian regent, who had just helped free Hungary of a communist government under Bela Kun, asked the Czechoslovakian government to permit Hungarian troops to cross Czechoslovakian territory into Poland to repel the assault. Benes categorically refused to allow the Hungarian troops to pass through Czechoslovakia and even held up the shipment of supplies to the besieged Poles. In 1935 both France and Czechoslovakia signed treaties of alliance with the Soviet Union to "ensure collective security."

In 1936-37 German intelligence, fully aware of Benes's pro-Russian and anti-German sentiments, arranged for forged documents implicating Marshal Tukhachevsky and other high-ranking Soviet officers in a plot with German officers to stage a coup against Stalin. Benes took the bait and informed both French and Russian agents of the plot. Although Stalin needed little encouragement in his purges of suspected enemies, it reinforced his opinion of certain Soviet officers who had been closely associated with the German military training in Russia. The definitive and fateful decision to ally with Soviet Russia rather than count on the United Kingdom and the United States to restore prewar Czechoslovakia seems to have been made after Benes's conference with President Roosevelt, Vice President Henry Wallace,

Secretary Morgenthau and other American leaders of the day in May 1943. Through the president's confidential adviser Harry Hopkins, Benes learned that important members of the administration were prepared to recognize Russia's territorial claims in East and Central Europe and to influence the London Poles in the direction of reconciliation and cooperation with Moscow. All of the above-mentioned American leaders were themselves admirers of Josef Stalin and the Soviet Union. Benes made the only decision possible under the circumstances and advocated alliance with Soviet Russia not just for Czechoslovakia, but for Poland and Romania as well.<sup>9</sup>

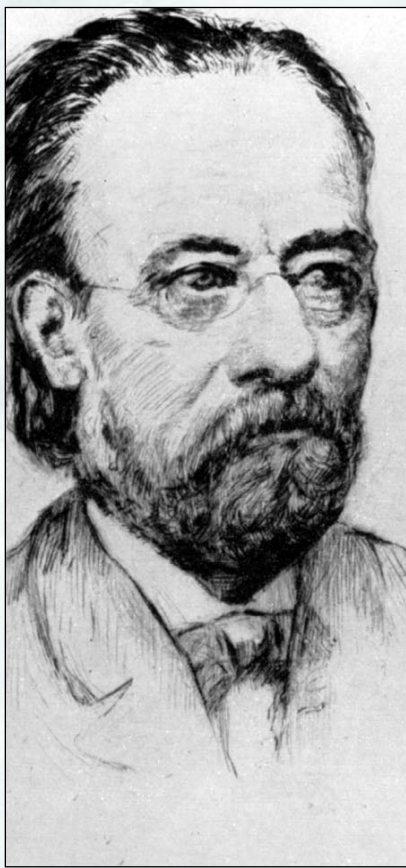
It was also in Washington in discussions with the U.S. leadership that Benes received Roosevelt's approval for the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia. He had earlier received Stalin's and Churchill's permission. Indeed, Sir Robert Vansittart, an inveterate German-hater, had proposed the expulsion of all Germans as early as 1940. Following the lead of Great Britain and the United States, Benes also dropped his support of the Polish government in London and instead adopted the Moscow line on the organization of East and Central Europe after the war. In December 1943, a few months after ascertaining the Roosevelt administration's attitude toward Stalin and postwar Europe, Benes proceeded on to Moscow where he

concluded a Soviet-Czechoslovakian treaty of friendship, mutual aid, and postwar cooperation, binding Prague to Moscow in future European conflicts. Stalin and Benes toasted the glories of pan-Slavism and the Soviet Union. Emphasis was placed on the common security of the Slav nations against any future German eastward expansion. However, the postwar Soviet-dominated governments and borders of Central and East Europe, as well as the expulsion of millions of Germans from their homelands, were first decided on by Josef Stalin, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at Yalta and Potsdam. At best, Benes was a pawn; at worst, he was a willing accomplice.

American troops were ordered by the Roosevelt administration not to proceed beyond a predetermined demarcation line so as to permit the Red Army to occupy central Germany, Berlin and Czechoslovakia. American troops that had already reached Prague were withdrawn to the west to permit the Soviet Union to occupy the area.

Commencing in May 1945, President Benes, in accordance with the provisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, issued a series of decrees authorizing the expulsion of all Germans and the confiscation of their property. The Allied terminology for the expulsion process was "the orderly and





*Friedrich Smetana (1824-1884) is regarded both as the "founder of Czech music" and as Czechoslovakia's greatest composer. He was born and raised in Bohemia, then a region of the Austrian empire, and grew up speaking German and thinking his Czech customs were something out of the ordinary. He took an active role in the revolt of 1848, when a spirit of revolution swept Europe, fanned by bad harvests and the resulting famine. In 1856, unhappy with the continuing Austrian occupation of his land, and depressed after the deaths of three of his four daughters, Smetana left for Sweden to accept a teaching position. But when Napoleon III defeated the Austrians, the Czechs gained power in their homeland, and in 1861, Smetana happily returned. But for the last 10 years of his life, he could not hear a sound, one of the symptoms of his syphilis. Yet he continued to compose until he eventually lost his sanity and died in an insane asylum.*

humane transfer of populations."<sup>10</sup>

In July 1946 Klement Gottwald, a Russian-trained communist, was appointed prime minister in a Czechoslovakian coalition government. When participation in the Marshall Plan was offered to Czechoslovakia, Stalin forbade Benes from accepting. In 1948 the non-communist members of the government threatened to resign if the communists took over the ministry of the interior (with police functions). Gottwald warned President Benes that a civil war would break out if the communists were denied. Benes dutifully capitulated and agreed to permit the communists to occupy key positions in the government, after which he resigned. He died within the year. Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk, son of the founder of Czechoslovakia, also died—by a fall from a window (either suicide from despair or defenestration because he refused to resign) in fateful 1948.

Often it takes many years, even decades, before the character, worth and political effectiveness of a national leader can be properly evaluated. Eduard Benes, president of Czechoslovakia, for example, can no longer be considered the decent man and democrat he was once touted to be by the victorious Allies of World War I who installed him in power. Quite the contrary. With the passage of time, President Benes has been revealed to have been involved in intrigues with brother Freemasons in the West; he discriminated against Germans and Poles; and eventually surrendered his country to Stalin's stooges.

British military and espionage historian Nigel West has—on the basis of his analysis of the Venona intercepts—gone so far as to suggest that Eduard Benes may even have been the Soviet "Agent 19" mentioned in the intercepts. Other analysts, however, are convinced that Harry Hopkins qualifies for that role.<sup>11</sup>

On the basis of the general evidence, it appears most likely that Benes, given his underlying pro-Slav and anti-German sentiments, and compounded by his disillusionment with Western leaders after the Munich Pact of 1938 and his Washington visit in 1943, sadly, but correctly, realized that Soviet Russia would be the ruler of Central and East Europe for many years to come. In his memoirs, Benes made it clear that he could not understand why the West

and Germany in the prewar period failed to understand communist strategy and expansionist plans. He wrote<sup>12</sup>:

The communists apparently considered that Russia's entry into the war would not be possible until the war was nearly over, and it was with this in mind that the Soviet Union had signed the Friendship Pact with Germany, so as to gain time for itself . . . and that they would intervene at the moment when both sides (Germany and the West) were so exhausted that they would not be strong enough to ward off the social revolution. I could not bring myself to believe that the Western powers and Germany would fail to see through Soviet calculations, and act accordingly. By now both were sufficiently acquainted with communist theories, especially the Lenin-Stalin theory of imperialist war and the proletarian revolutions, and that they would therefore make their own plans to prevent the realization of these communist aims.

While Germany did see through Soviet intentions and took appropriate action on June 22, 1941, the West remained infatuated with Stalin until after Czechoslovakia was lost. Benes, therefore, can only be viewed as a wretched pawn in a power struggle between the East and the West. The British and French failed him in Munich. During and after the war, President Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace and their closest advisers were responsible for the miserable postwar situation because of their total ignorance of the communist reality and their naive trust in Stalin's good will. President Truman bears little responsibility, because he had just assumed office.<sup>13</sup>

In the year 2000, the wheel of history had once again turned, and the Benes expulsion decrees have become a bone of contention between the Czech Republic and Germany. The Czechs, now in the position of supplicant, need German approval for entry into the European Union. The Germans want an apology from the Czechs for the treatment of Germans after the war and a revision of German rights to buy property in the Sudetenland. Still no official apology has been tendered.

It should be mentioned, however, that in December 1945 the free Polish and free Czech governments in London, which had been abandoned and betrayed by the British and Benes, did issue a statement to the United Nations concerning the ethnic cleansing of Germans<sup>14</sup>:



*The Sudetenland gives Adolf Hitler a warm and enthusiastic welcome. Almost all were glad to see the Nazis arrive.*

We . . . solemnly declare that neither the Czech nation nor the Polish nation bear any responsibility whatever for the way in which Germans are being now deported from Czech and Polish territories. The orders under which these deportations are carried out were issued by the "Czechoslovakian government in Prague" and the "provisional government in Warsaw." Neither of these governments was set up "in accordance with the expressed will of the inhabitants.

Responsibility for those crimes lies, in the first instance, with the governments of the major powers: the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. President Benes and his counterpart in Poland, as willing pawns, must bear responsibility in the second instance.

In an interesting footnote to history, one of Benes's advisors before and after the war

was Josef Korbela, father of former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and the professor-mentor at the University of Denver of Condoleezza Rice, now national security advisor to George W. Bush. In his capacities in Czechoslovakia before the communist takeover, Korbela was described as sympathetic to left-wing, socialist ideas.<sup>15</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Just as the Treaty of Versailles dismantled Germany and Saint-Germain chopped up Austria, the Treaty of Trianon punished Hungary. Shortly after the western Allies had created their Europe, a communist government under Bela Kun took over in Budapest; communist coups were staged in Munich, Berlin and Kiel; and the Red Army invaded Poland.

<sup>2</sup>Frantisek Palacky. *The Concept of an Austrian State*. Prague, 1865.

<sup>3</sup>Of Czechoslovakia's population of some 15 million, 7 million were Czechs, 3.3 million were Sudeten Germans, 3 million were Slovaks, 1 million were Magyars, 400,000 were Ruthenians, and 100,000 were Poles. Just as the Serbs in Yugoslavia have through the centuries tried to lord it over the other Slav groups in the region (Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins), Bohemia has tried to subject its neighboring Slavs to its rule.

<sup>4</sup>The Treaty of Versailles put more than 5 million Germans under foreign rule, the Treaty of Trianon placed 3.5 million Magyars under foreign rule.

<sup>5</sup>Masaryk was a Czech nationalist. He was also a gentleman who honored his word. Masaryk drafted the Czech declaration of independence in what is today the Envoy Hotel in Washington, D.C. He married an American, Charlotte Garrigue. Benes, on the other hand, was a duplicitous and insecure man. While Masaryk lived by the maxim, "Right makes might," Benes appears to have followed the maxim, "Might makes right." Characteristic of Benes was his respect for and submission to the more powerful side.

<sup>6</sup>*Op. cit.* Jaksch, 275.

<sup>7</sup>Wenzel Jaksch. *Europe's Road to Potsdam*. Frederick A. Praeger Publishing. New York, 1963, 210. Jaksch, a Social Democrat, was a Bohemian of German descent and opposed to National Socialist Germany.

<sup>8</sup>*Op. cit.* Jaksch, 297.

<sup>9</sup>*Op. cit.* Jaksch, 378-79.

<sup>10</sup>Article XIII of the *Potsdam Agreement* reads: "The three governments, having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining

in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will have to be undertaken. They agree that all transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner."

The Allies also defined the borders of "Germany," divesting it of about one-third its prewar area. (In recent years, when the same policy was applied in Yugoslavia, it was referred to as "ethnic cleansing.") More than 3 million Germans, mostly women, children and old people, were expelled from Czechoslovakia under the most brutal and inhuman conditions. Over 260,000 perished in the process. Benes also gave his consent to the executions of President Hrcha of post-Munich Czechoslovakia and the Catholic priest, Jozef Tiso, president of the Slovak Republic.

On May 16, 1945 Benes gave the order: "It will be particularly necessary to liquidate the Germans in the Bohemian lands." In one typical massacre in Aussig in northern Bohemia, hundreds of Germans, mostly women and children were thrown into the Elbe River by Czech "patriots." Those that did not drown were shot by the fren-

zied mob.

<sup>11</sup>Cited in: Jacob Weisberg. *Cold War Without End*. In: *The New York Times Magazine*, November 28, 1999. 120. "Nigel West" is a pseudonym for Rupert Allason, former Conservative member of Parliament.

<sup>12</sup>Benes, Eduard. *Memoirs: From Munich to New War and New Victory*. London. Allen & Unwin, 1954, 141-44.

<sup>13</sup>To refer to President Roosevelt and his closest advisers as ignorant of communist practices is to be charitable. Harry Hopkins and Henry Wallace would probably best qualify as "fellow travelers," Henry Morgenthau, whose chief advisor was Harry Dexter White, a proven communist agent, was too intelligent to be oblivious of communist plans. Alger Hiss was a proven communist agent and as the Venona intercepts reveal, many others in the Roosevelt Administration were, at the very least, communist sympathizers.

<sup>14</sup>*Op. cit.* Jaksch, 457.

<sup>15</sup>In: *The Washington Post*, December 28, 2000.



# The Hidden Album of Mankind

## CANDID VIEWS OF VANISHING PEOPLES

### *THE NOMADS OF WESTERN TIBET*

**N**OMADIC PASTORALISM SURVIVES in western Tibet, a region known as the Changtang (pronounced "chahng-tahng"). The traditional nomad greeting for visitors is touching foreheads, as illustrated at right, and asking, "You haven't had any difficulties, have you?"

Since Tibet is occupied by Red Chinese troops, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution many Changtang monasteries were torn down and the carved prayer stones carried away for other uses. Since about 1986, surviving Lamaists have begun rounding up many of the old prayer stones and rebuilding the monasteries. At first, when China came out with a policy of toleration, the traditional practices did not reappear all at once, because the nomads feared that the new policy was a trick launched to expose pockets of "rightist" thinking, and individuals were reluctant to take the lead and risk being singled out. An interesting aspect of this resurgence of the old religion is the reemergence of nomad mediums, individuals whom deities "possess" and talk through. It is an aspect of the traditional Tibetan Buddhist religious system that is considered "unnecessary superstition" not only by the Chinese communists, but to an extent



also by the anti-communist Tibetan government in exile. Yet it reappeared in Pala, a remote area, in the winter of 1987 when an adult in one encampment took ill and was in great pain for days before he died. A man from the same encampment went into a trance spontaneously during the illness and was "possessed" by a deity who gave a prognosis and explanation of the disease. When no official criticism of this event occurred in the ensuing weeks and months, he and others fashioned the traditional costume worn by mediums, and he is now sought by others in Pala in cases of illness.

A favorite drink in the Changtang is tea made with salt and butter. Contrary to a ridiculous but widespread myth, rancid butter is not preferred over fresh. Custom requires a guest, when his cup of tea has been once refilled, not to sip it again until his host reappears with the teapot and offers another refill.

Changtang women have the strange custom of painting the upper part of their faces with whey from the milk of yaks, goats or sheep, that has been cooked until it is a thick, blackish concentrate, called *döja*. This is primarily intended to enhance their beauty, although Westerners might think contrariwise, but it is claimed also to protect the skin against the sun. (At left, a woman applies *döja*, using tufts of wool while peering into a brass mirror.)





# PEARL HARBOR LIVES ON IN FILM

BY MARGO TURNER

*The year 2001 marks the 60th anniversary of Japanese warplanes bombing the U.S. Pacific Fleet moored at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. See the Disney version of the battle if you want to view a nice love story and see some exciting battle action, but do not expect to learn any real history from this expensive movie.*

At 7:50 a.m. on Sunday, December 7, 1941, as church bells were ringing and many of the inhabitants of Honolulu, including young sailors, aviators and soldiers, were just waking up, several squadrons of Japanese warplanes screamed across the Hawaiian skies, bombing the U.S. armed forces at Pearl Harbor. The attack jolted the United States from ostensible neutrality to total war against Germany and her allies and altered the course of world history. Hollywood film makers took advantage of the situation and came out with such films as *They Were Expendable* (1945).

Now 60 years later, the heroic efforts of the sailors, aviators, soldiers and civilians that fateful day are dramatized in a film from the Disney Company, simply called *Pearl Harbor*.

*Pearl Harbor* opened in movie theaters nationwide over the Memorial Day weekend. By the end of the summer, it earned more than \$200 million, \$60 million more than it cost Disney to make the film. The secret of the film's phenomenal success is the way in which director Michael Bay and producer Jerry Bruckheimer, both history buffs, approached the Pearl Harbor attack. Bay and Bruckheimer, with the help of screenwriter Randall Wallace, created a fictional story about ordinary people living through extraordinary circumstances based upon real life. They also wanted to capture the essence of that time in hopes of honoring the bravery of the American military men on the "Day of Infamy," in the phrase made famous in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's now-famous speech before Congress the day after the attack.

Bay and Bruckheimer admit that *Pearl*



*This still from the Pearl Harbor epic film by Michael Eisner's Walt Disney Company powerfully depicts the destructive force of the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor and shows what you can do in the way of special effects with hundreds of millions of dollars. Notice the helmet flying through the air at top right, an interesting touch. One of the most expensive flicks in history, the film cost \$200 million to make, but had made only a disappointing \$237 million at the box offices by June 21, 2001.*





**Gen. Henry "Hap" Arnold (left), the U.S. Army Air Corps chief, and Claire Chennault (right) organized the Flying Tigers. Neither Arnold nor Gen. George C. Marshall, the Army chief of staff, had much use for Chennault, whom they regarded as a mere adventurer who had never risen any higher than captain in 20 years of service, and who now had the nerve to call himself a "colonel" in the Chinese air force.**

## THE FIRST 'DAY OF INFAMY'

On July 23, 1941, some five months before the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, President Franklin Roosevelt signed a secret executive order authorizing the bombing of Tokyo and other Japanese cities. It was the brainchild of the cantankerous, opinionated and controversial ex-Army captain, Claire Chennault, who had contemplated such an approach as early as October 1940. Throughout July, debate had raged in the White House over the best response to Japan's aggression in China. An embargo on the sale of oil to Japan was proposed, but military leaders opposed it. They believed it would leave Japan with no choice but to go to war with the United States because Japan had no oil of her own. A Navy report had warned the president that such an embargo "would probably result in a fairly early attack by Japan on Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, and possibly involve the United States in early war in the Pacific." Roosevelt himself told Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles on July 18 that the imposition of an oil embargo "would mean war in the Pacific." Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes had written in a recent letter:

**There might develop from the embargoing of oil to Japan such a situation as would make it not only possible but easy to get into this war in an effective way. And if we should thus indirectly be brought in, we should avoid the criticism that we had gone in as an ally of communistic Russia.**

Accordingly, FDR declared an embargo on trade with Japan on July 26. The controlled media gave the embargo considerable publicity. The American people were not told, however, that three days earlier, Roosevelt had approved Claire Chennault's plan for a pre-emptive strike against Japan. The idea was to hit Japan in a sneak attack, before Japan could attack the United States, but only indirectly, using American civilian pilots in American aircraft with Chinese markings. The first bombing raids against Japan were supposed to begin in November, but due to delays, on November 22, Lauchlin Currie informed Roosevelt that he hoped the planes and crews would reach Chennault by the end of 1941. But on December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and the planned U.S. sneak attack against Japan was called off.

SOURCE: *The Maverick War: Chennault and the Flying Tigers*, Duane Schultz

*Harbor* is not a documentary. Rather it is a story of friendship and romance. The first hour and a half of the film is spent weaving the tale of three main characters. Rafe McCawley (Ben Affleck) and his young friend, Danny Walker (Josh Hartnett), are boyhood pals from Tennessee with a penchant for flying. Bold and idealistic, Rafe feels he can best serve his country as a pilot in the Army Air Corps. Danny, who is quiet and strong, joins his buddy Rafe. Then Rafe meets Evelyn Stewart (Kate Beckinsale), a Navy nurse, and falls in love with her.

No sooner does he woo Evelyn, than Rafe decides to team up with the Eagle Squadron, a group consisting of Americans, Canadians, Swedes, Australians and others from neutral nations who volunteer to fight with British pilots during the Battle of Britain. Rafe feels he has not done enough for the war effort. His decision, though, causes a rift between him and his best buddy, Danny. The two had protected each

***The plain fact is that foreign policy is always based on internal policy, that the men who make this foreign policy belong to groups whose main and often only interest lies in acquiring, preserving or strengthening their control at home.***

—MICHAEL HERMOND COCHRAN

other and depended on each other. Before he heads off for the deadly skies above the English Channel, Rafe promises Evelyn and Danny that he will return.

When Rafe's plane is shot down and he is presumed killed over the English Channel, the film turns its attention to Evelyn and Danny, both of whom are transferred to Pearl Harbor. Evelyn is dismayed that Rafe put himself in harm's way. He is the love of her life, and she is devastated that he joined the Eagle Squadron. Danny tries to comfort Evelyn and ends up falling in love with the nurse.

Rafe suddenly appears out of nowhere alive and well and patches things up with Evelyn and Danny, causing a predictable "love triangle" aspect to the movie.

The film then shifts to Seaman First Class Dorie (real name: Doris) Miller (Cuba Gooding Jr.), a black mess attendant on the *USS West Virginia*. As Japanese war-

planes fly low overhead, dropping bombs on ships, Dorie makes his way onto the deck. He spots an unmanned machine gun and begins shooting at the Japanese warplanes. For someone who has not been trained on such a weapon, it is amazing that Dorie shoots down two Japanese zeros. Then Dorie jumps into the water. With bombs and bullets flying all around him, he manages to rescue his captain from certain death. The real-life Miller is not known to have shot down any enemy planes.

The film then cuts back to the main plot, involving Rafe and Danny. The two are in a jeep with several other pilots. They are trying to find planes that have not been destroyed by the Japanese. Rafe and Danny spot two planes untouched by bombs and machine-gun bullets and take off in them to do battle with the enemy. After the battle, the dynamic duo are tapped by aviation legend Jimmy Doolittle (Alec Baldwin) to lead a suicidal bombing mission over Tokyo, Yokohama and Yokosuka. (Civilian buildings, a military hospital and six schools were hit. Most of the 80 American pilots and crewmen, surprisingly, survived the April 18, 1942 mission.—Ed.) Rafe and Danny knew the odds were totally against them, but it was something they felt they just had to attempt.

The film makers wanted Rafe, Danny, Evelyn and Dorie to embody a global sense of responsibility and a personal desire to do the right thing. As screenwriter Wallace explains: "There was a spirit among the people who fought in World War II that if they were not there, getting the job down, somebody else was going to have to do it, therefore they chose to be there. That spirit cannot be ignored."

While the film makers take cinematic license to focus on the life-changing events surrounding the Pearl Harbor attack, what many in the audience will always remember is the 40-minute battle scene. The use of computer-generated special effects makes the audience feel as if they are actually in Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941. The heroic efforts dramatized in those 40 minutes are worth the wait.

Whenever possible, the film makers avoid controversy in *Pearl Harbor*. There is no reference in the film that Roosevelt (Jon Voight) knew about the attack but did nothing because he wanted the Japanese to



***A Disney version of a Japanese pilot dead in the cockpit after being shot down by American gunners. There is little doubt that Doris ("Dorie") Miller, in contrast to Eisner's propaganda, had nothing to do with any downed Japanese plane. The "Dorie" story is a product of that peculiar capacity of certain minds to invent heroes solely based on the color of their skin.***

bomb Pearl Harbor to draw the United States into World War II. Adm. Husband Kimmel (Colm Feore), the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, is seen having a sense that an attack is coming, when in fact he was blamed for being unprepared.

Bay and Bruckheimer probably would not have a summer blockbuster if they relied entirely on historical accuracy. If they did, they would have ended up with a flop, such as *Tora Tora Tora*, which came out in 1970. And that would mar a Hollywood commemoration of the 60th anniversary of one of America's worst tragedies.

*Tora Tora Tora* documents the events leading up to the attack on Pearl Harbor, from the initial planning by the Japanese

military to the testing of their bombers to the attack itself. The film is actually two films woven into one. The American segments are the handiwork of Richard Fleischer, who went on to direct *Conan the Destroyer* and *Red Sonia*. Kinji Fukasaku (of *Black Lizard* and *Green Slime* fame) and Toshio Masuda directed the Japanese segments.

Comparing *Tora Tora Tora* with Disney's *Pearl Harbor*, *Tora* provides a better insight into the rationale of the Japanese military in attacking Pearl Harbor. When Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, the officer in charge of the mission, sends a coded radio transmission from his aircraft to the Japanese fleet, "To-ra, to-ra, to-ra"—which,



translated, means, "Surprise achieved" (repeated twice)—what was considered unthinkable by American analysts at the time became a nightmare America has not forgotten.

Without question, *Pearl Harbor* captivates audiences with its epic love story and the exciting 40-minute battle scene. That may be enough for most people, but not for Donald Goldstein, author of six books on the Pearl Harbor attack and professor of public and international affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.

Goldstein strongly believes in maintaining historical accuracy. When he was asked by Disney to serve as a consultant on *Pearl Harbor*, the historian declined because he felt the film did not remain true enough to history. "Hollywood is doing exactly what they used to accuse government of: rewriting history," Goldstein said. "Because the public is lazy, this is all the history they get—Hollywood style."

But Goldstein does give the *Pearl Harbor* film makers credit for historical accuracy in at least one segment of the movie: According to the historian, two Army pilots, Kenneth Taylor and George Welch, got up in planes during the actual attack as Rafe and Danny did in *Pearl Harbor*. However, that is as far as historical accuracy goes in this case. Both Rafe and Danny also took part in the Doolittle raid over Japan, but Goldstein claims no pilot did both in real life.



*The three members of the naval inquiry are sworn in. They are from left: Vice Adm. Adolphus Andrews, Adm. Orin Murfin and Adm. Edward Kalbfus. These were the men who reversed the decision of the Roberts Commission findings and exonerated Kimmel. The panel had learnt, to their amazement and indignation, that Kimmel had been deprived of vital information.*



### THAT'S QUITE A BIT OF ACTING . . .

Although actor Jon Voight (left) portrayed Franklin Delano Roosevelt in *Pearl Harbor* as being shocked by the Japanese "sneak" attack, Voight's uncle, the late Joseph P. Kamp (inset below),—a vocal FDR critic—was one of the first to expose FDR's foreknowledge of the impending attack.

*Pearl Harbor* and *Tora Tora Tora* each have a segment in which Japanese Adm. Isoroku Yamamoto says he fears the attack on Pearl Harbor has "awakened a sleeping giant." As far as historians can tell, Yamamoto never used those words. The first time they were uttered is in *Tora Tora Tora*. A lesson to makers of future historical films might be: Do not borrow from previous films if you seek accuracy.

While the film was heavily researched in an effort to make for a realistic portray-

al of events, Bay defends his flick by saying, "It's not a history lesson." Thus he can have his cake and eat it, too.

Some Asian-Americans have protested the movie, saying that while it is set in Hawaii, where most people are of East Asian descent, there are few Asian faces in the film, and one character, a Japanese-American dentist, based on a real-life person, is portrayed as disloyal and functioning as a spy for the Japanese government, while in real life that dentist was eventually cleared of any wrongdoing by the FBI. Other people, on the other hand, have complained that the movie is too sympathetic to the Japanese government, proving that you cannot satisfy everyone. The film makers were concerned not to be too harsh on Japan, as the Japanese box office receipts are important to the overall profitability of the movie.

Bay and Bruckheimer prove with *Pearl Harbor* that film makers still score big at the box office with war movies filled with romance and battle scenes done with state-of-the-art special effects. As for historical facts, the attitude is that it is best to skim the truth a little so not to bore the audience entirely. That is definitely Hollywood's style. ♦

## WILL PEARL HARBOR SCAPEGOATS FINALLY BE EXONERATED?

**T**he U.S. House of Representatives and Senate in 2000 adopted identical resolutions to the 2001 Defense Authorization Bill that would exonerate two men who have been described as Pearl Harbor scapegoats.

Congress wants to exonerate the late Adm. Husband Kimmel, commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, and his Army counterpart, the late Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, of dereliction of duty in connection with the Pearl Harbor attack. The amendment calls for the president to advance Kimmel and Short to rear admiral and major general, respectively. These are the ranks the men held prior to the Pearl Harbor attack. Although the men were not brought to trial, they maintained their innocence in the attack, which ended their military careers. President Bill Clinton did not act on the Kimmel/Short provision in the legislation before he left office. The matter rests with Clinton's successor, George W. Bush.

Investigations following the attack on Pearl Harbor indicate that Kimmel and Short were not provided necessary and critical intelligence that was available which foretold of war with Japan, warned of imminent attack, including such essential communiqués as the Japanese "Pearl Harbor bomb plot message" of September 24, 1941 and the message sent to the Japanese ambassador in the United States from December 6-7, 1941, known as the "14-part message."

Kimmel's naval career had been highly successful until December 7, 1941. He served as the aide to Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1915. As well, he served on American battleships in Europe in World War I. He also had command of several ships, including the battleship *New York*.

When he was appointed to head up the Pacific Fleet in mid-January 1941, Kimmel was a rear admiral commanding the cruiser force at Pearl Harbor. Kimmel relieved Adm. James O. Richardson, who President Roosevelt had fired for opposing the moving of the fleet from California to Hawaii.

Before his appointment as head of the Army's Hawaiian Department in February 1941, Short had been the assistant chief of staff at the Third Army. Short, like Kimmel, did not expect the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbor.

As far as Short was concerned, his major mission at Pearl Harbor was training the troops, such as in the use of radar. Convinced that guarding against sabotage outweighed defense against a potential air attack, he ordered his warplanes clustered wing tip to wing tip on Oahu's airfields.

Soon after the attack, Kimmel and Short were relieved of their duties. Vice Adm. W.S. Pye temporarily replaced Kim-



**HUSBAND KIMMEL**



**WALTER SHORT**

mel in December 1941, pending the arrival of Adm. Chester W. Nimitz from Washington. Short was replaced by Lt. Gen. Delos Emmons.

Kimmel retired from the Navy on February 28, 1942, and joined a shipbuilding firm specializing in drydock construction. He pressed for a public hearing, which he received in 1945 as part of the congressional inquiry into the attack on Pearl Harbor. Kimmel did not receive the exoneration he sought and fought for innocence until his death in 1968.

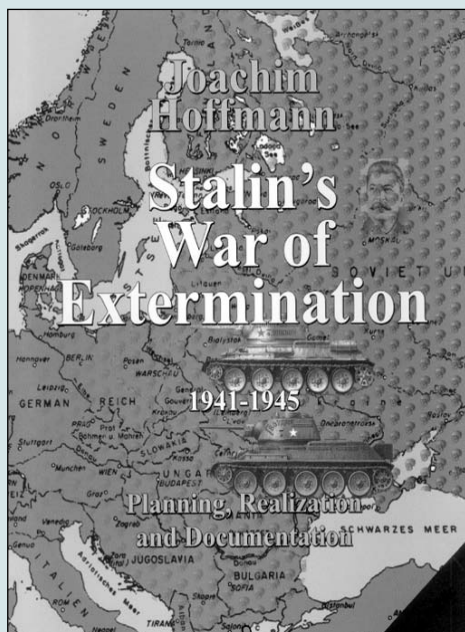
Short retired from the Army after being replaced by Emmons. He joined the Ford Motor Company and maintained his innocence in public testimony before Congress in 1945 and 1946. He died in 1949, unable to clear his name.

Adm. William H. Standley served as a member of the investigating committee, known as the Roberts Commission, which accused Kimmel and Short of dereliction of duty six weeks after the attack. Standley later disavowed the report. He felt the two men were treated unjustly. "If they had been brought to trial, both would have been cleared of the charge," the admiral claimed.

A naval court of inquiry on October 14, 1994, exonerated Kimmel on the grounds that his military decisions and the deposition of his forces at the time of the attack were proper in light of the information he had, which indicated that there was no probability of any imminent air attack. The court criticized the higher command for not sharing information with Kimmel between November 26 to December 7, 1941, but stopped short of blaming any of them specifically for the failure.

Kimmel's son appeared at TBR's Second International Conference in June 2001 to defend his father. ♦





## Stalin's War of Extermination

By Joachim Hoffman

*Stalin's War of Extermination 1941-1945: Planning, Realization and Documentation*—Planning, Realization and Documentation, the subtitle of the book, covers Stalin's plan for a World Revolution by conquering Europe in a war of extermination. The Germany Army did everything in its power to stifle these plans and we all know the final disaster that befell Germany. When published in Germany in 1995 the book became a best seller. One newspaper, the *Berliner Morgenpost*, stated it succinctly when writing "Stalin conceived and accomplished his war against the German Reich as an extermination war of conquest. To this end, Hoffmann furnishes overwhelming data from German and Soviet archives." Item #282, hardback, 415 pages, \$39.95 minus 10% for TBR subscribers. Please add \$5 S&H inside the U.S.; \$15 per book S&H outside the U.S. Send payment to TBR Books, P.O. Box 15877, Washington, D.C. 20003 or call 1-877-773-9077 and charge to Visa or MasterCard.

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# THE MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM JOYCE

BY MICHAEL WALSH

***William Joyce is too often remembered as “Lord Haw-Haw,” a name that seems like a joke—and is. However, those who really know who this man was will recognize that he was an exceptional individual, who suffered martyrdom for his pro-Western beliefs.***

Intellectually gifted William Joyce had a family tree to be proud of. Theirs was a family whose merits had given an entire region of Galway, Ireland their name: “Joyces’ Country.” Their roots traced back to William the Conqueror’s colonization of medieval England and the later crusades. Among Joyce’s ancestors were three archbishops, three founders of the Dominican College at Louvain, several mayors of Galway, an historian, a 19th-century poet-physician, an American revivalist preacher, and the noted author and poet James Joyce. William’s father, Michael Joyce, as a 20-year-old British citizen (Ireland was then ruled from Westminster), had emigrated to the United States in 1888. Four years later he renounced his British citizenship and became an American citizen. He was very successful in his trade and returned to Ireland in 1909 to live in comfort.

Fiercely loyal to the crown and proudly pro-British, the Galway County inspector of police was unstinting in his praise of Michael Joyce, who now, through lapse, considered he was again a British citizen. Not so, the chief constable of Lancashire informed him. He and his wife Gertrude were formally cautioned against the provisions of the Aliens Restriction Order (July 8, 1917). Michael and his wife were now in no doubt as to their, and their son’s, nationality: They were citizens of the United States of America. At the conclusion of the Anglo-Irish Treaty (December 8, 1921) when a portion (26 counties) of Erin gained independence, Michael Joyce, no doubt due to his anti-Republican sympathies, removed himself to England to dedicate himself to king and empire. William was then 15. There was never any doubt as to his

son’s similar loyalty to the crown, an excess of which caused him to lie about his age when enrolling in the Regular Army at 16. He was ejected after four months service, when his true age was revealed.

The young Joyce joined the Officer Training Corp. It was through the OTC college system that the dedicated and highly cerebral student acquired BAs in Latin, French, English and history. Later on, in 1927, he obtained first-class honors in English. In terms of his academic brilliance Joyce’s achievements have never been bettered. His close friend, John Angus MacNab, described how Joyce could quote Virgil and Horace freely. Besides being able to speak German, he spoke French fairly well and some Italian. He was not only gifted in mathematics but had a flair for teaching it. He was also widely read in history, philosophy, theology, psychology, theoretical physics and chemistry, economics, law, medicine, anatomy and physiology. He played the piano by ear.

This was a period of international upheaval and uncertainty. The “Russian” Revolution and bitter civil war were now over. Events had delivered that great nation to the tyranny of international Jewish revolutionaries. Bankers such as New York-based Kuhn, Loeb and Co., who shared their ilk and presumably the ensuing opportunity for profit, had financed these revolutionaries. Europe was horrified at what appeared to be the relentless flames of revolution licking at their own shores. Winston Churchill was on record as saying:

It may well be that this same astounding race may at the present time be in the actual process of providing another system of morals and philosophy, as



***William Joyce, called “Lord Haw-Haw,” has been dismissed by many hack historians as a pathetic figure. In fact, he was one of the most powerful speakers of his era.***



malevolent as Christianity was benevolent, which if not arrested, would shatter irretrievably all that Christianity has rendered possible . . . at last this band of extraordinary personalities from the underworld of the great cities of Europe and America have gripped the Russian people by the hair of their heads and have become practically the undisputed masters of that enormous empire.<sup>1</sup>

Against this background, the young Joyce, on December 6, 1923, joined Miss Linton-Orman's British Fascisti Limited, an organization set up to counter Red revolutionary activity. Joyce was soon to come face to face with Red revolutionaries. During an election meeting, a communist thug leaped on the 18-year-old activist's back and with an open razor slashed him from mouth to ear. It was a scar that Joyce carried with him to the gallows. During this period of international upheaval, membership in a fascist organization and the defense of the British empire were one and the same thing. Indeed it was so in Germany, Italy and many other European nations then battling against the communist struggle for world domination. The political event Joyce was defending when attacked was an election meeting for the Unionist Parliamentary candidate, Jack Lazarus.

In 1933, *The Financial Times* brought out a special eight-page supplement under the caption: "The Renaissance of Italy: Fascism's Gift of Order and Progress." As late as November 11, 1938, Winston Churchill opined:

Of Italian Fascism, Italy has shown that there is a way of fighting the subversive forces which can rally the masses of the people, properly led, to value and wish to defend the honor and stability of civilized society. Hereafter no great nation will be unprovided with an ultimate means of protection against the cancerous growth of Bolshevism.<sup>2</sup>

Only later would the defeated British empire genuflect to the triumphant airs of *The Internationale*. Joyce, reluctant to commit himself to existing anti-communist organizations, eventually opted for Oswald Mosley's newly formed British Union of Fascists (BUF). He remained skeptical, however, of Benito Mussolini.<sup>3</sup> His skepticism was due to the Italian leader's apparent lack of concern at the threat posed by organized world Zionism. On the other hand, he had great admiration for Germany's recently elected leader, Adolf Hitler.

Fired by the prospect of accompanying BUF leader Oswald Mosley to Germany with the possible opportunity of meeting the Führer, the young Joyce was to unwittingly sign his own death warrant. Realizing that as an American citizen it would be impossible to obtain a British passport, he lied about his place of birth to obtain the document. Obviously such a document was invalid, but Britain's judiciary would later be happy to make an exception to the rule if it would provide opportunity for a legalized hanging.

Ironically the proposed trip to Germany never did take place. An excellent speaker, Joyce often deputized for Oswald Mosley. He regularly addressed large audiences including a major fascist rally in Liverpool on November 26, 1933, attended by an estimated 10,000 fascists. Of him A.K. Chesterton wrote:

Joyce, brilliant writer, speaker, and exponent of policy, has addressed hundreds of meetings, always at his best, always revealing the iron spirit of fascism in his refusal to be intimidated by violent opposition.

John Beckett, the former Labour member of Parliament on attending a meeting addressed by Joyce said: "Within 10 minutes of this 28-year-old youngster taking the platform, I knew that here was one of the dozen finest orators in the country."

Cecil Roberts, who heard Joyce at a political dinner in London's Park Lane Hotel described the event years later:

Thin, pale, intense, he had not been speaking many minutes before we were electrified by this man. I have been a connoisseur of speech-making for a quarter of a century, but never before, in any country, had I met a personality so terrifying in its dynamic force, so vituperative, so vitriolic.

During this period Oswald Mosley was speaking at the largest political rallies ever held in Britain. "We know that England is crying for a leader," Joyce told a Brighton audience in 1934, "and that leader has emerged in the person of the greatest Englishman I have ever known, Sir Oswald Mosley." Joyce's political sympathies however were unambiguously in favor of national socialism, and by 1936 he had coined the slogan: "If you love your country you are a national[ist]. If you love her people you are a socialist. Therefore, be a national socialist."

He was equally uncompromising on the Jewish question. Then as now, it was usual for Jewish financial interests to buy a country by purchasing the party in power. In the summer of 1934 the BUF was offered 300,000 British pounds by a Jewish businessman prominent in the tobacco trade. It was sufficient to finance the BUF for two years. Without consulting his party's leader, Joyce rejected the offer "with an impolite message."

Joyce, if nothing else, was an indomitable champion of the working class, for whom all his efforts were directed. It was hardly surprising that he was as consistently scathing of capitalists and communists; not to mention the decadent English bootlickers, whom he described as "the parasites of Mayfair."

Joyce, by then divorced, knew one other great passion, his love for fellow party worker Margaret Cairns White. Upon the announcement of their engagement, a mutual friend said to her: "Well, I do hope you will be happy, but it may be uncomfortable being married to a genius. And William is a genius, you know."

By 1937 the English establishment's enthusiasm for fascism had waned. The Fleet Street-based propaganda machine backed by Jewish interests was in its ascendancy. The success of National Socialist Germany and Italian Fascism, rather than being seen as a template for European solidarity and revival, was now seen as a threat to British interests, the establishment and its aristocracy. Simplistically there were more readers of Fleet Street's poisonous press than there were readers of the British Union of Fascists' tabloid, *The Fascist*. The BBC, then as now, had always leaned toward Marxism. Riding on the back of organized anti-fascist propaganda and Red violence the government banned the wearing of political uniforms and torchlight processions. Their further tightening up of the Public Order Act hit the fascist movement hard—as intended.

As the police turned a blind eye to Red riots, the owners of public halls, most of them Labour authority controlled, denied venues to the fascists. Their presses were seized and their members intimidated and harassed. The war clouds were now looming and the British fascists' last chance to form peaceful alliance with burgeoning racial-nationalism in Europe was now fading.



***A crowd outside Wandsworth Prison, London, watching a notice being pinned up announcing the execution of British supporter of Germany William Joyce, also known as “Lord Haw-Haw,” for treason during World War II.***

ing fast. There would be no more elections until 1945. (Britain in essence was an elected dictatorship from 1937 to 1940, a parliamentary dictatorship from 1940 to 1945.) On the retreat and burdened with unsustainable overheads, the BUF staff was reduced by 80 percent. Within a month of his wedding to his Maria Callas look-alike bride, Joyce was unemployed. His enforced redundancy owed much to his disenchantment with Mosley. Joyce was intolerant of weakness exemplified by Mosley's concessions to the then government.

Subsequently Joyce, Beckett and MacNab set up the National Socialist League, which dismissed copying the German pattern. For Joyce knew the German leader disdained imitation:

**His way is for Germany, ours is for Britain. Let us tread our paths with mutual respect, which is rarely increased by borrowing. Nationalism stands for the nation and socialism for the people. Unless the people are identical with the nation, all politics and all statecraft are a waste of time. A people without a nation are a helpless flock or, like the Jews, a perpetual nuisance; a nation without people is an abstract nothing or a historical ghost.**

By studying these words carefully, one can perceive why Britons today, deprived of their nationhood through open-door immigration and foreign ownership, have become a flock without a shepherd and in

many respects, especially abroad, a perpetual nuisance.

By now the war clouds were darkening, leaving Joyce on the horns of a dilemma. He could not support a war arranged by corrupt politicians acting on behalf of international finance. Yet evasion of national service was unthinkable. As things turned out, there was no dilemma at all. Joyce and his wife Margaret were already marked down for arrest and detention for the duration of the coming war. In fact, many people were sentenced to long terms in prison merely for peaceful activities aimed at stopping England's war against Germany. One such was Anna Wolkoff, the daughter of an admiral in the Russian Imperial Navy. On November 7, 1940, Judge Justice Tucker sentenced her to 10 years imprisonment.

The same judge five years later would try Joyce at the Old Bailey. At the Wolkoff trial he described the absent Joyce as a traitor—a well-publicized remark that should have eliminated him from presiding over the fugitive's later trial. Joyce's plan was to renew his false passport and that of Margaret. Their intention was to go to Ireland, which would resolve their dilemma. However, the Munich Agreement made their departure unnecessary, and the couple went instead to Ryde on the Isle of Wight, where Joyce experienced a “spiritual visitation” of some sort, the impact of

which kept him awake and talking all night. What followed was a period of much soul-searching. Events forced the young couple to decide on Berlin as being the best option to escape an English jail.

Angus MacNab had already established that both Joyce and his wife would be granted German citizenship if they chose to resettle in Germany.<sup>4</sup> Time was fast running out.

**T**he House of Commons was being recalled the following Thursday to pass all stages of the Emergency Powers (War) Act. This would effectively turn the British government into a dictatorship. Joyce was under no illusions. He and tens of thousands of others who had pursued peace with Germany would be summarily arrested and detained indefinitely without trial. He applied for the renewal of their passports. As national socialists working for peace between the two nations, there was now only one country where the Joyce's presumed they would not be imprisoned: Germany. It was an argument strongly favored by Margaret.

At about midnight on August 24, the couple's telephone rang. It was a call from a friendly MI-5 intelligence officer, warning Joyce that he was due to be arrested under the Emergency Powers Act. He had at most two days to make good their escape. On August 26, 1939, five days before Germany



retaliated against repeated Polish attacks on her borders, William and Margaret Joyce left London. Arriving in Berlin they found the city seething with defensive preparations. There the English visitors found that Christian Bauer, their contact and ticket to a new life, had exaggerated his influence and could offer little by way of assistance. In the confusion of events there was even the possibility they might be interned should Britain declare war on Germany. Disconsolate and footsore the pair tramped the streets of the German capital coming up against one obstacle after another. Finally, without work and running short of money they decided in unison to return to England. Yet again fate was against them. William had changed all of his money into Deutschmarks, a currency that was now invalid for journeys beyond Germany's borders. British Embassy staff were unhelpful. At Margaret's suggestion the couple fatefully decided to stay in Berlin; a decision reinforced when next day Joyce landed a job as a part-time freelance interpreter. During the night of August 31, 1939, Poland, which, six months earlier, had invaded Czechoslovakia and which already controversially occupied German territory looted after World War I, crossed the German border. It was a little after midnight when radio broadcasts were interrupted by an announcement that the small German border town of Gleiwitz had been attacked and occupied by Polish irregular formations. Within hours Germany retaliated.

Two days later, a delegate of the Labour Party met with British Foreign Minister Lord Halifax. "Do you still have hope?" he was asked. "If you mean hope for war," answered Halifax, "then your hope will be fulfilled tomorrow."

"God be thanked!" replied the representative of the British Labour Party. In Germany the mood was less jubilant. The shocked population listened to their country's leader Adolf Hitler as he addressed the Reichstag on September 1:

Just as there have occurred, recently, 21 border incidents in a single night, there were 14 this night, among which three were very serious. . . . Since dawn today, we are shooting back. I desire nothing other than to be the first soldier of the German Reich. I have again put on that old coat which was the most sacred and dear to me of all. I will not take it off

until victory is ours, or I shall not live to see the end. There is one word that I have never learned: capitulation.

Back in London the police were raiding the Joyces' apartment, only to find the tipped-off couple had already gone. Though free in Germany, they felt lonely, helpless and homesick. They had no ration cards; William's meager earnings reduced them to living on acts of charity. Every apparent job opportunity turned out to be a disappointment—a vague promise and nothing more. Reduced to destitution, he was finally asked: "Have you ever thought of working for the radio?" Joyce replied that he had not, and moments later an interview was being arranged.

Though desperate for competent English speakers, the Reichsrundfunks Foreign Service was not impressed with Joyce's performance (he was suffering from a heavy cold that week), but reluctantly provided employment to the equally reluctant Joyce. Faced with possible internment or certain destitution, he had little choice but to accept the post offered. The rest is history. Joyce spent the rest of England's war providing English-speaking listeners with the German point of view on the conflict's unfolding events. He was one of many various nationalities carrying out the same task. The same could be said for the internationally recruited staff serving the British government through the BBC at London's Bush House.

Joyce was never the "Lord Haw-Haw" of Fleet Street mythology. He was given this *nom-de-plume* by *Daily Express* journalist Jonah Barrington, who had mistaken Joyce's broadcast for that of Norman Baillie-Stewart, a Seaforth Highland Regiment veteran who, like many others, had decided to fight for the triumph of European interests rather than international capitalism and communism.

Much of the comment made about Joyce's broadcasts is similarly myth. His biographer, J.A. Cole, conceded that:

To this day he is quoted as having made statements he never uttered. Most of what people think they know of him is false and not fact. . . . An extraordinary viciousness has characterized much of the writing about him, but what was written in anger [about Joyce] now looks spiteful and even absurd.

Claims that Joyce sneeringly provided

accurate predictions that certain areas or buildings had been chosen for air strikes, were also wide of the mark. The government's Ministry of Information, having already refuted claims that Germany had detailed topical knowledge, felt the need to issue a further statement: "It cannot be too often repeated that Haw-Haw made no such threats." Joyce's biographer concluded by remarking: "And the legend lives on to this day. Mention 'Haw-Haw' in any gathering, and out come the stories of what people heard, as they will insist, with their own ears. Joyce was a man who is remembered—for what he did not say."

William L. Shirer, the author of the notable distortion, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, who worked in Berlin with Joyce, described him as the "No. 1 personality of World War II . . . an amusing and intelligent fellow."<sup>5</sup> What is beyond question is that Joyce's broadcasts, with the benefit of hindsight, seem compellingly accurate. In the first radio talk definitely established as Joyce's, the expatriate spoke of Britain's position in the war.<sup>6</sup>

In one broadcast he commented on the hypocrisy of England's government "fighting to the last Frenchman (Pole, Belgian, Norwegian . . .)"; making promises it couldn't keep." Ironically the facts as Joyce presented them are more in accordance with the facts than those presented by the subsequent British explanation of events. England's pact with Poland, its reason for declaring war on Germany, was later found to be illegal. Furthermore, the British government's promise of direct aid to Poland, 9,500 planes for instance, came to nothing, as did other promises. Likewise promises made to Norway, whose neutrality was to be desecrated by British invasion.

By now the German government had documents setting out the most fulsome English promises of assistance to Holland and Belgium if their territories could be used to launch attacks on Germany. These promises were subsequently found to be similarly false. Joyce spoke passionately of the "Dunkirk debacle" of the French and the British Expeditionary Force:

What was England's contribution? An expeditionary force which carried out a glorious retreat, leaving all its equipment and arms behind, a force whose survivors arrived back in England, as the Times admitted, "practically naked."

Whatever excuses may be found for their plight the men who made the war were reduced to boasting of a precipitous and disastrous retreat as the most glorious achievement in history. Such a claim could only besmirch the proud regimental standards inscribed with the real victories of two centuries. What the politicians regarded, or professed to regard, as a triumph, the soldiers regarded as a bloody defeat from which they were extremely fortunate enough to survive.

The next test of Britain's might was the Battle of France. All the professions of brotherly love and platonic adoration which Churchill had poured forth to the French politicians resolved themselves into 10 divisions, as compared with 85 divisions, which had been in France at the height of her struggle in the last war. As the world knows, the effect was nil; and when Reynaud telegraphed madly night and day for aircraft, he was granted nothing but evasive replies. The glorious Royal Air Force was too busy dropping bombs on fields and graveyards in Germany to have any time available for France.

But after the final drama of Compiègne and the defeat and the utter collapse of the French, the heroic might of the British lion suddenly showed itself at Oran. That inspired military genius, Winston Churchill, discovered that it was easier to bomb French ships, especially when they were not under steam, than to save the Weygand line. If it was so hard to kill Germans, why not, he reasoned, demonstrate Britain's might by killing Frenchmen instead? They were beaten and would be less likely to resent it.

Joyce in this first broadcast went on to scorn Churchill's "cowardly" response to Germany's success in fighting back:

Churchill, the genius, has his answer ready. What is it? First, Germany's ambulance planes are to be attacked wherever seen. They can easily be identified by the Red Cross that they bear, and they are unarmed, so the great brain conceives another possibility of victory. The fact that these planes have saved many British lives weighs as nothing in comparison with the triumph that can be achieved by shooting them down.

The second part of the answer is to be found in the instructions issued to British bombers flying over Germany. In reply to the charge that these machines were dropping bombs on entirely non-military places, Mr. Churchill, with another flash of genius, replies, "Of course. The planes have to fly so high that the targets cannot be distinguished." Otherwise, the Germans would shoot them down. In consequence of this instruction, harmless civilians have been murdered at Hanover and in other towns. The British prime minister has abandoned all pretense that these bombing operations have military objectives. The principle is, "Drop the bombs wherever you can, without being seen, and what they hit, they hit." It is unnecessary



*English leader of the British Union of Fascists Oswald Mosley (1896-1980) with some of his men, including William Joyce (1906-1946), inaccurately called "Lord Haw-Haw" by his enemies, far left.*

to say that a terrible retribution will come to the people who tolerate, as their prime minister, the cowardly murderer who issues these instructions. Sufficient warnings have already been given.

J.M. Spaight, CB, CBE, principal secretary to the Air Ministry, afterwards admitted Churchill's role in flouting international law by bombing civilians:

Hitler only undertook the bombing of British civilian targets reluctantly three months after the Royal Air Force had commenced bombing German civilian targets. Hitler would have been willing at any time to stop the slaughter. Hitler was genuinely anxious to reach with Britain an agreement confining the action of aircraft to battle zones.<sup>7</sup>

In a later broadcast on January 4, 1944, the 37-year-old Joyce asked: "How can the ordinary British soldier or sailor understand why he should be expected to die in 1939 or 1940 or 1941 to restore an independent Poland on the old scale, while today he must die in order that the Soviets rule Europe? Surely it must occur to him that he is the victim of false pretenses?"

Speaking on April 17, 1944, he said:

There are today hundreds of thousands of British soldiers who will cease to live during the attempt to invade Western Europe. They are prepared to

sacrifice their lives, but for what? For their country? Demonstrably not! Britain has only the stark prospect of poverty before her. For the rights of small nations? Certainly not. What British politician wants to hear of Poland today? For what, then, are these men to die? They are to die for the Jewish policy of Stalin and Roosevelt. If there is any other purpose to their sacrifice, I challenge Mr. Churchill to tell them what it is.

Perhaps it was the accuracy of Joyce's analysis of events that would later place his head in the vengeful British noose.

Part of the blackening of Joyce's character is the claim that his speeches were universally ridiculed. In fact, his broadcasts were widely listened to in Britain and far from everyone found them as laughable as was claimed by the newspapers of the time. His biographer, J.A. Cole, describes an event at which two visitors were having afternoon tea with David Lloyd George.

The statesman interrupted the conversation to switch on the radio so that the Hamburg service could be heard. The former prime minister listened attentively, and once he remarked: "The government ought to take notice of every word this man says."



**AN EXCERPT FROM  
WILLIAM JOYCE'S LAST  
BROADCAST, HAMBURG,  
APRIL 30, 1945**

(Note—the first few words were missed) . . . that the German resistance continues despite the successes which the Allies have gained during the past few days. Germany is sorely wounded but her spirit is not broken. Her people are conscious of their duty and of their nation. In this hour of supreme trial, they seem to understand the European position with a clarity which is, unfortunately, denied to the people of Britain, and they realize that the great alternative lies between civilization and bolshevization. That is the dominant truth, in comparison with which other considerations have to take second rank or such lesser place as they merit. How modest, how harmless does Germany's request for the return of Danzig seem in contrast to the immense acquisitions of the Soviet Union and the further ambitions of the Kremlin.

Stalin is not content with Poland, Finland, and the Baltic states, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and eastern Slovakia. He wants the whole of Central Europe, with Norway, Turkey and Persia thrown in. And if these territories fall to him, the lust for aggrandizement will only be stimulated further. . . .

Such is the attitude of the Red dictator who menaces the security of the whole world, and whose power today constitutes the greatest threat to peace that has existed in modern times.

Britain's victories are barren. They leave her poor; and they leave her people hungry; they leave her bereft of the markets and the wealth that she possessed six years ago. But above all, they leave her with an immensely greater problem than she had then. We are nearing the end of one phase of Europe's history, but the next will be no happier. It will be grimmer, harder and perhaps bloodier. And now I ask you earnestly: Can Britain survive? I am profoundly convinced that without German help she cannot.

*Life* magazine accorded Germany the lead in the radio war. The influential American magazine calculated, probably correctly, that 50 percent of the English listened to Joyce's broadcasts from Hamburg. The manager of the East Riding Radio Relay Service complained, "We are inundated with requests for Lord Haw-Haw broadcasts, which we are not allowed to give."

As the war drew to a close several attempts were made to save Joyce and his wife from English vengeance but they came to naught. Dr. Joseph Goebbels, before his death, inquired whether a submarine could be used to take the fugitives to Galway in neutral Ireland. Though not dismissed out of hand, it was impractical, and the idea was not pursued. A further plan, to allow escape to Sweden, was blocked by the Swedes. But at that late stage an escape was unlikely to succeed anyway. Denmark was in a state of near chaos, and communist bands roamed, a law unto themselves.

In fact, Joyce was not inclined to either run or to take his own life, preferring to allow fate to deal with him as it might. The couple ended their days in defeated Germany much as they had begun; as wandering victims of events. As the first rays of spring were warming the north German countryside, the couple often strolled through the pastoral landscape surrounding Flensburg, contemplating the budding birch trees. Occasionally they would come across small groups of British soldiers. It amused Joyce to banter with them, and on one occasion, a knot of soldiers enjoyed a conversation with a couple whom they thought were Herr and Frau Hansen. It was precisely because Joyce did not sound like his music hall caricature that he went unrecognized.

The beginning of the end came on Monday morning, May 28. Joyce had climbed to his favorite spot, the crest of the hill overlooking Flensburg's beautiful harbor. There, to use his own words he "seemed to have fallen into a trance-like state; and with the utmost earnestness he prayed for help and guidance."

Later, realizing that his wife would be searching for him, Joyce took one final look at his beloved harbor below before turning to search for her. Following the path down the hill the former broadcaster encountered two British army officers gathering

wood. Perhaps realizing that silence would be regarded as suspicious, Joyce, speaking in French to the servicemen, said, "Here are a few more good pieces." What ever aroused their suspicion, we may never know. Capt. Alexander Adrian Lickorish of the Reconnaissance Regiment, and Lt. Perry, an interpreter, followed and overtook the limping man. "You wouldn't happen to be Joyce, would you?" Perry asked.

The conditioned response for anyone so challenged was to do as Joyce did: Reaching into his pocket, he fingered the official document that would dispel the officer's suspicion. Before he could present it, however, Perry drew and fired his revolver.

It was never felt necessary to explain why such a standard response to a simple question should have resulted in a man being violently shot down. The bullet entered Joyce's right thigh and then went through his left leg, causing four wounds. As he fell to the ground, he cried: "My name is Fritz Hansen."

The grim irony is that the "officer" who shot Joyce, Perry, was no Englishman, nor was he a soldier. "Perry" was not his real name; the Lieutenant was an armed German Jew serving with the British forces.

The wounded fugitive was handed over to the guard commander at the frontier post, where his true identity was revealed. During the ensuing raid on the couple's lodgings a lieutenant and a party of 10 infantrymen, two Bren gun carriers and a lorry arrested his wife, Margaret. "Your husband has been arrested," he snapped, adding that he was to arrest everyone in the house, including the children.

Joyce was held at the frontier post for several hours. Then a door was eventually flung open, and the sight of soldiers confronted Margaret as they emerged, carrying her husband on a stretcher. He looked pale. As the party passed, he looked up and waved. "Erin go bragh" (Ireland forever), she called out to him.

Her claim that the occupants of their lodgings had not known their true identity brought the group's release. On returning to their home the family discovered that it had been ransacked by the troops; even their meager food supply had been "liberated." Joyce's arrest and subsequent imprisonment was treated as something of a freak show for the entertainment of his captors. To one of his tormentors the

wounded fugitive responded: "In civilized countries wounded men are not peep-shows." Newspaper hacks, unable to afford the slightest dignity to the captured pair referred to Margaret as "his alleged wife," or "the woman who claims to be his wife."

The macabre death procession of British justice; a parade of grim reapers garbed in the accouterment of state legislature, now began the long march to the gallows. The subsequent trial ran its murderous course and few today question that it was a judicial lynching. Joyce was not, of course, British and much of the rest of the proceedings were equally questionable. Never from the moment of his arrest to his present predicament had Joyce ever denied his role, his purpose or his belief in national socialism. To the end he took the view that friendship with Germany being in the best interests of the English people he could not therefore be a traitor. On the contrary, those who conspired with Bolshevism to subvert and overrun civilization were indeed the traitors. In a letter to his friend Miss Scrimgeour he wrote:

**One day, I hope, it will be recognized that, whether or not I aided the king's enemies (and who made them enemies?), I was no enemy to Britain: But I had no intention of offering any apology or excuse for my conduct, which history will surely vindicate. . . . As the days go by, it will become more and more obvious that the policy which I defended was the right one.**

Well aware that he was being hanged for opposing a war which cost the British army alone 350,000 dead, whilst England's bunker-bound warmongers lined their pockets and gained their peerages through war profiteering, Joyce ended his letter:

**I cannot quite restrain my contempt for those who would hang me for treason. Had I robbed the public and impeded the war effort by profiteering on ammunition, a peerage would now be within my reach if I were willing to buy it.**

In a later letter to the same recipient Joyce wrote: "You may be sure that the Jewish interests in this country will make every conceivable effort to liquidate me."

Whatever the rituals of the court procedure, its day-to-day events were a parody; a judicial circus for the mob who, inflamed by Fleet Street, wished nothing other than the gallows (for words he never uttered). Joyce's fate had already been decided upon

despite the illegality of the charge laid against him.

Undeniably, he was an American citizen, and therefore could not be subject to England's hastily improvised Treason Act, 1945. Joyce's defense counsel acquitted themselves well, under the circumstances. Joyce recounted afterward how, in the cell below the court, he had discussed his prospects with his counsel. They remarked in unison that they had both been threatened with assassination if the court found in his favor and counts 1 and 2 were dismissed on the grounds that Joyce was undoubtedly an alien. The crucial legal ruling as to whether he owed allegiance to the crown had yet to come.

J.A. Cole described how:

**. . . the sparkling display of mental agility and legal erudition fascinated him (Joyce) as lawyers argued over nationality matters of mind-numbing complexity. Rumors swept the streets and public ignorance in legal complexities caused a near riot when misinterpretation (the first two charges, the assumption that he was British, being dropped) of findings suggested that the hangman had been thwarted.**

Joyce, however, was convinced that a state lynching was quite certain. He was under no illusions. He was a spectator and a foil; he was lending his presence to the fabrication of the spurious legitimacy of a show trial. In the outcome, Judge Justice Tucker decided that Joyce's passport, obtained fraudulently on August 24, 1939, for the purpose of making his escape from England, caused the defendant to owe allegiance to the crown. No doubt the same judge would have regarded an Irish Kerry Blue to be a British bulldog had its owner falsified its Kennel Club papers.

**I**n respect of the single remaining charge, a particular broadcast deemed to be treacherous, there was considerable doubt. The prosecution's case hung (if you will excuse the expression) on what a detective-inspector "thought he had recognized." In fact, the inspector's case was afterwards undermined. But it was on this third count that Joyce was found guilty: "Assisting the king's enemies by a specific broadcast."

"Joyce! The sentence of the court upon you is that you be taken from this place to a lawful prison and thence to a place of execution, and that you be there hanged until you are dead; and that your body be after-

wards buried within the precincts of the prison in which you shall have been confined before your execution. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul." The chaplain murmured: "Amen!"

Joyce stared defiantly at Judge Tucker as he pronounced the death sentence, then turned sharply and walked as smartly from the dock as he had entered it. Joyce without precedent was denied the right to express an opinion as to why the death sentence should not be carried out.

In a letter to his wife, he wrote: "I thought of interrupting the judge and demanding my undoubted right to make a reply; but my contempt for the judgment, combined with a somewhat belated respect for my own dignity, kept me silent."

**J**oyce afterwards reflected on the judge's reluctance to hold his gaze as he donned the black cap and read out the sentence:

**It gave me no small degree of satisfaction to see that His Lordship, complete with vampire chapeau, after once meeting my eyes, read his precious sentence into his desk. Ah! My dear, those were a proud few minutes of my life.**

To his wife he added:

**Some papers, I am told, have stated that my expression was contemptuous: It probably was. But whether I bore myself becomingly is, after all, for others to judge: but I do believe that I did nothing to shame me in the eyes of my lady, and I am therefore content.**

Whilst the condemned's cell in London's grim Wandsworth Prison was being prepared, Joyce was held in a Wormwood Scrubs cell. Though his counsel began the appeal procedure, Joyce was under no illusions. "Distinguished lawyers were laying 50 to 1 on an acquittal: I was not," he wrote. Initially the date for Joyce's execution was set for November 23, 1945, and on the 17th of that month his wife Margaret was transferred from the Belgian jail where she was being held to Holloway Prison, the women's jail in London. The execution date having passed due to the appeals process Joyce retracted nothing of his original statement, and he advised his wife not to amend hers:

**Morally, if not legally, it is highly pertinent that we firmly believed ourselves to be serving the best ultimate interests of the British people—a fact which was appreciated and respected by the best of our German chiefs. And it was always our**



thesis that German and British interests were, in the final analysis, not only compatible but mutually complementary.

*The Manchester Guardian* was not alone in expressing doubt as to the legality of Joyce's forthcoming hanging:

One can say that this document, which he ought never to have possessed, has been—unless the law lords judge differently—the deciding factor in Joyce's sentence. One would wish that he had been condemned on something more solid than a falsehood, even if it was one of his own making. . . . Even in these days of violence, killing men is not the way to root out false (unpopular) opinions.

Despite the dangers of association, Joyce was far from alone in his beliefs, and he received many letters of support. He wrote: "I feel overwhelmed by the generosity of my friends and these tributes from complete strangers. I am really embarrassed." A couple in Kensington had sent a check for 50 pounds. Typically a small Suffolk farmer contributed 10 shillings "for a very brave gentleman."

On the morning of December 18, the appeal was heard—and dismissed. The death sentence was to be carried out on January 3, 1946. On December 28, he wrote to his friend Miss Scrimgeour:

I trust, like you, that the works of my hand will flourish by my death; and I know there are many who will keep my memory alive. The prayers that you and others have been saying for me have been and are a great source of strength to me, and I can tell you that I am completely at peace in my mind, fully resigned to God's will, and I am proud of having stood by my ideals to the last. I would certainly not change places either with my liquidators, or with those who have recanted. It is precisely for my ideals that I am to be killed. It is the force of ideals that the Hebrew masters of this country fear; almost everything else can be purchased by their money; and, as with the Third Reich, what they cannot buy, they seek to destroy; but I do entertain the hope that, before the very last second, the British public will awaken and save themselves. They have not much time now.

In his last letter to his wife on New Year's Day, 1946, he wrote:

As I move toward the Edge of Beyond, my confidence in the final victory increases. How it will be achieved, I know not; but I never felt less inclined to pessimism, though Europe and this country will probably have to suffer ter-

ribly before the vindication of our ideals. . . . Tonight I want to compose my thoughts finally; the atmosphere of peace is strong upon me, and I know that all is ready for the transition.

Visitors besides his wife found Joyce in a spiritual sense of peace. Angus MacNab eloquently expressed his feelings with these words:

In his last days, although in perfectly good health, his actual body seemed spiritualized, and without what you would call pallor, his flesh seemed to have a quasi-transparent quality. Being with him gave a sense of inward peace, like being in a quiet church.

Joyce, in a letter to his wife, recalled the spiritual visitation he had experienced at Ryde just before the outbreak of England's war:

It was, in those hours, as if some shadowy foreknowledge were given to me, causing a convulsion of what you might rightly call "burning of energy." I knew that all I had and more was required of me; and I suppose I was in an emotional state arising out of "knowledge" hidden from the conscious mind. My fear on each occasion was that you would be physically torn from me; but far stronger was the feeling that we should never be spiritually separated.

Such was the esteem with which Joyce was held that on the night of his execution former teachers at Birkbeck College—who remembered their likable, hard-working, although strange, student—sent a message to the governor of Wandsworth Prison. "They recalled him as they had known him, and if it were within the rules they would like the governor to tell him that they wished him well."

It was a bitterly cold morning on January 3, 1946. In a small chapel in Galway, Ireland, mass was being said for an American citizen about to be hanged in England's grim Wandsworth Prison. The condemned prisoner was still writing his farewell notes as the liturgy began.

In the last letter that his wife would receive posthumously the condemned American wrote:

I never asked you if you wanted to receive posthumous letters: The question was too delicate, even for me; but I assumed your wish. For I think you are sufficiently strong now to overcome the grief of this blow, and that your faith will triumph over tears. For my part, I want to write as long as I can and then mend

the snapped cable in an eternal way.

At this point his letter was interrupted by his wife's final visit. When she had gone, he continued in a smaller, neater hand:

Oh, my dear! Your visit! With no words can I express my feelings about it! I want the children to take leave of me, of course, as they will this afternoon: but now I am anxious to die. I want to die as soon as possible, because then I shall be nearer to you. With the last glimpse of you, my earthly life really finished. With you, dear, it is otherwise, because you are destined to stay for a time and will have me with you to help: I am more confident than ever that we shall be together: but, after I have seen the children, the lag-end will be of no use to me except in one way; that I can still write some lines to you.

Let me tell you, though, that spiritually, an unearthly joy came upon me in the last instants of your visit. And you will know exactly why. You would not blame me for being impatient to go beyond. Still, despite my impatience, I shall be glad to talk this evening to my kind, good chaplain, who has done so much for me and who will give me communion tomorrow morning. There will be a great chorus of prayer as I pass beyond. ♦

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Winston Churchill. *Illustrated Sunday Herald*. Feb. 8, 1920.

<sup>2</sup>*Witness to History*, Michael Walsh. Historical Review Press, Uckfield, England.

<sup>3</sup>The Italian leader had been honored as a British knight of the bath. His knighthood was removed in 1942.

<sup>4</sup>Joyce and his wife became naturalized German citizens on September 28, 1940.

<sup>5</sup>*Lord Haw-Haw and Joyce*, J.A. Cole, Faber and Faber, London, 1964.

<sup>6</sup>Bremen, August 2, 1940, 22.15 BST. Repeated Zeesen, August 3, 1940.

<sup>7</sup>*Advance to Barbarism*, F.J.P. Veale. Mitre Press, London. 1948. (Nelson Publishing Co., U.S.A., 1953).

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# THE CIVIL WAR WITHIN THE GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY

BY GEN. LEON DEGRELLE

*"In just a few years Adolf Hitler has brought forth out of nowhere one of the most powerful organizations in the world. Victorious and eager for action, it now stands behind him, impelled by an irresistible dynamism." H.B. Gisevius, Jusqu'à la lie . . .*

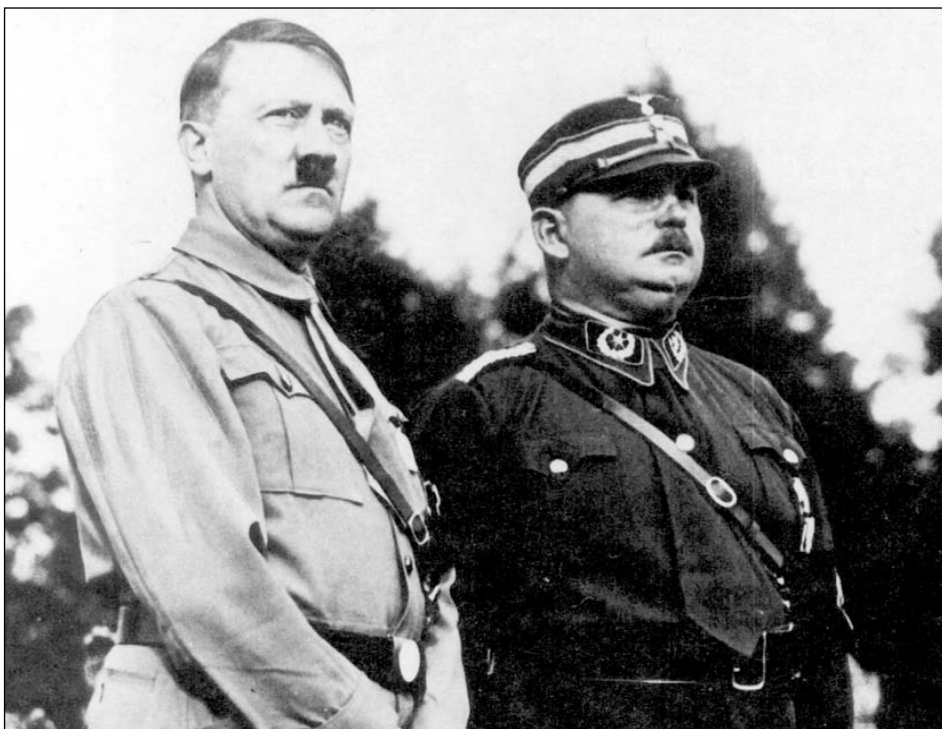
*—["To the Very Dregs . . ."], vol. I, p. 112*

**B**y the beginning of 1933, the millions of members of the SA were coming almost as often from the left as from the old right-wing organizations that were better regarded by the army chiefs. Gisevius continues:

The SA membership, whose numbers have greatly increased in the past few months, is made up at least a third of former members of the parties of the left. It is known with certainty that in the months of June and July of 1933 there were assault detachments formed almost entirely of communists. They were popularly known as *beefsteak detachments*, "brown on the outside and red on the inside." (*Ibid.* 115.)

Before victory, these SA men bursting with optimism and courage were absolutely indispensable. Several times a week they were called on to maintain order at meetings. As the strong arm of the party's propaganda, they gave a sound drubbing to opponents in the audience who got too obstreperous. They had been recruited from among the ardently patriotic youth of the nation. Also, in very large numbers, from the ranks of the unemployed. And likewise, in some instances, authentic no-goods were recruited.

Some over-ambitious go-getters had the appetites of ogres. As for the good-for-nothings, they meant to force their way into the middle class with clubs. Some leaders driven by ambition had been interested only in swelling the number of their contingents, since their own importance was thus automatically also increased, and brought hasty promotion to colonel or even general.



**Adolf Hitler and Ernst Röhm in the summer of 1933. One year later Röhm would be dead. All in all, about 85 people were killed in what came to be known as the "Night of the Long Knives."**

Their swift rise understandably scandalized the colonels and generals of the Reichswehr who had undergone half a century of toil in the old army.

Once the revolution had come to power, what indeed was Hitler going to do with these millions of idealists—including the reckless undesirables—when he already had six million unemployed workers on his hands? . . . Over and over again he had protested against the excessive increase in

the number of SA members. But the SA leaders had turned a deaf ear to his orders because they were too interested personally in holding on to the additional members. In short, here camped out on the fringes of the constitutional government under Hitler's control were 3 million semi-soldiers, some of them unassuming, devoted and disciplined, others brawlers or fanatics who were little inclined to return to dull legality.



Hitler had needed them. He felt great affection for them because many of them were old and valiant companions. He often forgave them their escapades. From time to time he would say in their justification: "The SA is not a school for young ladies." But he began to get annoyed when he heard disturbing tales of the unpleasant things some of them were doing.

The chief of these 3 million latter-day *lansquenets* (mercenary foot soldiers) was a former captain named Ernst Röhm. Had he created Hitler, as some have said? Hitler was a member of the DAP [German Workers Party] in 1919, before he had ever met Röhm. The latter was a heroic, badly disabled war veteran, very much the swash-buckler, who couldn't find his place in a defeated Germany. He drank hard and often. After November of 1919 he had continued his army service as the officer in charge in Munich of a military intelligence section. As an officer attached to the Second Infantry Brigade, he had secret funds at his disposal which he doled out to various rightist movements.

**T**his role did not satisfy his dynamic nature. He progressed from nationalist organizations that were too peaceable to more turbulent nationalist movements. He organized secret stores of rifles, machine guns and munitions, and had even salvaged a few old cannons. Thus it was that Hitler had become acquainted with Röhm in the course of the year 1919, and he had then induced him to enroll in the DAP as number 623.

Röhm was hearty and communicative. A familiar camaraderie was established between Hitler and himself. They used the



*Alfred Frauenfeld, shown above, is truly one of "the forgotten Nazis." Yet he was important in his day, serving, among other things, as the Gauleiter of Vienna (1930-1933).*

familiar *du* with one another, but it had gone no further than that. Hitler had genius and had no need of Röhm to inspire him. If all Röhm had needed was for a man of his choosing to become a brilliant leader, he could have thought up 50 of them better able to achieve success in the immediate future (Gen. Ludendorff, for example) than the unknown and virtual ragamuffin that Hitler was in 1919.

It was thanks to his exceptional personality—and not because Röhm had manufactured a marionette—that Hitler, on July 21, 1921, had become the unquestioned master of the NSDAP [National Socialist German Worker's Party], successor to the original DAP, by 553 out of 554 votes. Röhm's vote had been just one among 553 votes. And then there was Hitler's eloquence: without that, there would never have been a National Socialist Germany. That was not a gift made by Röhm to the young "Führer" either.

**R**öhm was nonetheless a useful collaborator. Well known in Munich military circles, he was particularly fitted for resolving difficulties when the authorities tried to pick a quarrel with the first National Socialists, and he had been effective.

When the Marxists had used violence in

an attempt to terrorize the meetings of Hitler's party, it was Hitler, not Röhm, who had formed the first group of battlers—80 of them in all—that he himself led to the attack when the Reds broke into his meetings. And it was Göring, the famous commander of the Richthofen squadron—wearing the insignia of the Order of Merit round his neck, and far more celebrated than Röhm—who had received from Hitler the command of that first *Sturmabteilung* and the mission to step up its recruitment.

Göring being busy with 10 other missions, Röhm had succeeded him. He was a valorous group leader. He kept his men firmly in hand, was endowed with an instinct for combat, and he was at the same time a capable organizer. On the night of the Munich putsch in November of 1923, he had seized the premises of the Military Command, and he held out there for some hours after the putsch had failed.

While Hitler was spending 12 months in prison in 1924, Röhm's career had taken wings, benefiting, as in Ludendorff's case, from the wave of popularity brought about by the putsch and then by the sensation of Adolf Hitler's trial.

Röhm had been elected a National Socialist deputy, and for a time he played a lone hand. He had delayed for several weeks before throwing in his lot with Hitler again after the latter had been set free. He had not even attended the reunion meeting. The success Hitler had met with there and the growing strength of the renewed NSDAP brought Röhm back into the fold. But an important difference was quickly going to arise between Hitler and Röhm, involving two radically different conceptions of the aims assigned to the combat formations of the party. Röhm wanted to turn the SA into a military organization that would be virtually independent of the National Socialist movement.

For Hitler, on the other hand, the SA was to have the sole mission of enforcing National Socialism's rights in meeting-halls and in the streets. In 1925, this conflict, which had been latent for a long time, came to a head. Hitler dismissed Röhm, who withdrew without any scandal, and faithful but disconsolate, he left Europe and went off to become a lieutenant colonel in Bolivia, where he would remain for five years. The SA in the meantime had grown considerably larger without Röhm. In

### IN MEMORIAM

TBR's copy editor, Andrew Gray, died in his sleep on August 29, 2001, after having suffered from pulmonary fibrosis for several years. Besides his editorial work, he had a lengthy career in the banking industry in America and Europe. Andrew was well known as a friend to historical Revisionism. He is best remembered for his translation of Richard Wagner's autobiography, *My Life*, which is currently the standard English translation of that work, published by Cambridge University Press. Generous until the end, just before his death he insisted upon ensuring that the TBR editorial staff had upgraded computer equipment, reimbursing TBR for their expenses for a new computer. Thanks, Andrew. You will be missed.

August of 1927, 20,000 of its members had marched in parade at the NSDAP Third Congress. Year by year it continued to expand and become more strongly structured. On September 14, 1930, Hitler's first great electoral victory had burst like a bomb: 107 deputies. The SA was prominently to be seen everywhere in the streets and was vigorously opening the way to the future.

Unable to direct everything himself, Hitler remembered Röhm, told himself that he must have calmed down in La Paz, and that perhaps he could recall him from his faraway Bolivia now that millions of Germans followed him, Hitler, personally. On October 1, 1930, Hitler summoned him. In La Paz, Röhm, his mind still vibrant with the Munich saga, immediately cast aside his stars and promotions. He had scarcely arrived in Munich when Hitler, who was also much moved by his return, named Röhm chief of staff of the SA, as well as of its privileged contingent, the SS, an elite corps created to form a defensive square around the Führer wherever he went.

In the bitterness of the great struggle from January 1931 to January 1933, the problem of the SA, whether political shock troops or future new army, had become blurred. It was not discussed. They were fighting. All the same, Hitler had never concealed from Röhm that he intended to maintain his basic position. In his eyes, the Reichswehr was the only army; the SA was the physical and political support of the movement. Inwardly, Röhm had not changed his opinion either. He had nothing but insults for the heads of the Reichswehr, even though they were the only ones at the time with the technical training without which no army is effective. Hitler was completely aware of that need. Gisevius writes:

**Hitler wished to make the SA into the legal troops of the party as it were. . . . It was necessary to meet terror with terror, first in the meetings, then in the streets when necessary. But that wasn't enough for officer Röhm. Since 1918 his one dream had been the new national army. No amount of success seemed fast enough for him. No increase in the manpower of the SA seemed to him sufficient.** (H.B. Gisevius, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 121 ff.)

Röhm had his plan: "In the first momentum of the seizure of power, the sooner he forced his way through the impenetrable



*One of the earliest to join the German Workers Party was Ernst Röhm, a thuggish German army captain. Röhm was quick to recognize the crowd-pulling attraction of Hitler's personality.*

thicket of juridical prescriptions and the obligations of foreign policy, the sooner his army of the revolution would become the national army of the future." (*Ibid.*) Despite everything, Hitler treated Röhm considerably.

Gisevius once again explains: "Hitler must take precautions on every side. He is still only the chancellor of a coalition government. He still has to consider decisions of the Council of Ministers, diplomatic protests, and even at times open resistance. Moreover the old marshal is always there." (*Ibid.*)

Röhm paid no heed to such considerations. If he accepted for the moment the commanders of the old army, he considered them old fogies: mummified skeletons with no social comprehension and an absolute lack of feeling for the common people. For them, a soldier was an instrument that

took orders, and that was all. In their view, he was in essence an inferior being. When someone like Gen. Reichenau, a convert to National Socialism, allowed himself to talk to a soldier in a friendly way after drill, or when he took part in competitive sports with the men—where the best man wins, not the one with the most dazzling gold braid—it shocked his fellow officers, who treated him as a demagogue.

The people's army that Röhm wanted to give Germany was a nation in arms, as in the time of the French Revolution. Moreover, he often whistled the *Marseillaise*, alluded to Carnot, and would have liked to give the SA the spirit of the *sansculottes*.

He went too far. He evoked the Red Army. Driven as he was by an essentially revolutionary spirit, he would have liked to



create a German Red Army; for as he himself said, he was more socialist than nationalist. He still agreed to tolerate maintenance of the army for the time being, on condition that it be taken over without delay. In truth, he would have much preferred to create his Red Army from scratch, thus making a clean break with a past of landed squires, which seemed to him terribly old-fashioned. He also blamed the army—and, he was not entirely wrong—for not having understood the imperatives of modern warfare during World War I, and in particular for rejecting the massive use of tanks. The blindness of the German general staff on that subject had unquestionably been one of the decisive factors in the defeat of the German Empire.

Since then those generals, like their French counterparts, had grown still more set on outmoded techniques, taking no interest in plans aimed at the formation of large armored units, nor in the creation of an air force designed for massive military actions. Röhm's diatribe was valid per se and would remain so right up to the end of World War II. In 1939, many of those generals enmeshed in the past would still deny the tactical possibilities of armored divisions and take no more than a passing interest in Göring's air fleet.

Yet how would Röhm have been able to modernize a new army from top to bottom? A soldier of fortune who had never received the training that might have fitted him for the job? Who didn't have the genius to invent it and was ignorant even of the possibilities of a war industry? Hitler would prove to be the one man capable of inventing a theory of modern warfare from start to finish, one centered around the tactical collaboration of large and powerful air and armored ground forces. He would have the iron will to impose that strategic revolution. He would create the tank divisions and the thousands of aircraft. He would have the flair for discovering the imaginative young officers like Guderian and Rommel who would apply his doctrine.

Hitler knew as well as Röhm that such

a military revolution was indispensable, but, aware of the obstacles, he didn't want to rush things. He believed there was some possibility that the experienced commanders of the Reichswehr would understand. He was mistaken about a number of them. Bound up in their prejudices, and behind the times, they would not only completely fail to understand the new doctrine but would sabotage it. In order to succeed in transforming the military machine in spite of the obstacles and lack of comprehension, Hitler counted on a transfusion of new blood into the army, thanks to the National Socialist youth, that would change minds and create thousands of officers who understood and who would impart a true social cohesion to an army become part of the greater German community. Alas, the time given him—the six years from 1933 to 1939—would not be quite enough.

Hitler, even before 1933, had the long considered prudence of a responsible future head of state. Röhm, on the other hand, was impetuosity personified and too violent in his talk when he had been drinking, which was often the case. An army of the people? Both of them wanted it, Hitler just as much as Röhm. But how to create it?

On that their plans differed totally. Sooner or later they were bound to clash. Röhm proclaimed, "I am the Scharnhorst of the new army. The stock itself must be revolutionary. It is impossible to graft onto dead wood." The problem was much more complex than that.

Hitler saw far beyond Röhm's mugs of beer. The army he was thinking of would require something other than match sticks on a cafe table to be invincible. In addition to the willingness, the strength and the faith of the people, there would have to be cadres and brains, plans and a strategy. The army and the SA were not to be in opposition to each other but to form a double team. The problem to be solved lay there, not in a crazy duel. The collision between Röhm and Hitler was inevitable.



### BEFORE HITLER . . .

Georg Ritter von Schönerer, a left-wing Liberal deputy in the Austrian Parliament (1842-1921), is known as the spiritual godfather of National Socialism. Schönerer founded the nationalistic German People's Party in 1881. In 1882, Schönerer helped to draft the famous "Linz program." Under this plan, the Slavic parts of the Austrian empire (Bucovina, Galicia and Dalmatia) would be detached, and German would become the official state language. Anti-Semitism was not part of the program. In fact, Schönerer's chief collaborators on the document, the historian Heinrich Freidjung and the Socialist leader Viktor Adler, were both Jewish by ethnicity. Initially, Schönerer was merely against a "preponderance" of Jewish influence in Austrian public life. By 1883, however, he was demanding the dismissal of all Jewish teachers. But in 1887 Schönerer's effectiveness was sharply reduced when a Viennese newspaper published documentary proof that his wife had a Jewish ancestor.

Leon Degrelle was an individual of exceptional intellect, dedicated to Western culture. He fought not only for his country but for the survival of Christian Europe, preventing the continent from being inundated by Stalin's savage hordes. What Gen. Degrelle has to say, as an eyewitness to some of the key events in the history of the 20th century, is vastly important within the historical and factual context of his time and has great relevance to the continuing struggle today for the survival of civilization as we know it.

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—"The Saga of the Spirit Pond Rune Stones," Paul A. Chapman, May/June, p. 67.  
—"The Strange Case of Burrows Cave," Stephen Earl Lombardo, Sept./Oct., p. 46.  
—"Thorfinn Karlsefni's Voyage to North America," Anonymous, Sept./Oct., p. 55.  
—"When Did Our Ancestors Come to America?" Ronald P. Anjard, Sept./Oct., p. 47.

**Prisoners of war**—"The Allies' Awful Treatment of Post-WWII Prisoners," Vivian Bird, May/June, p. 61.  
—"Undocumented Loss: The Death Camps for Germans Run by the Bolsheviks in Conquered Germany," Erika Hansen, Mar/Apr., p. 51.

**Racial mixing**—"A History of Racial Mixing in the American Colonies," Robert M. Grooms, Nov/Dec., p. 19.

**Reconquista**—"The 'Reconquista'," John Tiffany, Mar/Apr., p. 5.

**Sexual revolution**—"The 'Sexual Revolution' as a Weapon of Control," Dr. M. Raphael Johnson, Jul/Aug., p. 33.

**Slavery**—"Little-Known Facts Regarding African Slavery," Stephen A. Raper, May/June, p. 23.

—"Slave-Owning Mulatto Families in Antebellum Charleston, South Carolina," Robert M. Grooms, Jul/Aug., p. 45.  
—"Slavery Nothing New in Africa," Robert M. Grooms, May/June, p. 24.

**Stavisky affair**—"The Case of Paris — 1934," Gen. Leon Degrelle, Jul/Aug., p. 55.

**Teutonic knights**—"A Clarifying History of the Teutonic Order," Stephen A. Raper, Mar/Apr., p. 31.

**Texas**—"Blood Over Texas," John Tiffany, Mar/Apr., p. 10.

**USS Indianapolis**—"Fed to the Sharks: The Saga of the Captain and Crew of the USS Indianapolis," Margo Turner, Jul/Aug., p. 37.

**Vietnam War**—"How the Defense Department Lost the Vietnam War," Stephen Earl Lombardo, Jul/Aug., p. 69.

**Virginia Declaration of Rights**—"The Virginia Declaration of Rights: An Overview," Tony Blizzard, May/June, p. 65.

**War crimes**—"Britain Refuses to Apologize for War Crimes in South Africa," Jaap A. Marais, Mar/Apr., p. 61.  
—"The Truth About the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials," David Hoggan, Jan./Feb., p. 47.

**Webster, Daniel**—"The Maine Northeast Boundary Controversy and the Treason of Daniel Webster," Stephen J. Martin, Nov/Dec., p. 5.

**Zeppelins**—"The 'Hindenburg' Disaster & Cover-Up," John Tiffany, May/June, p. 32.  
—"The Rise & Fall of the Zeppelins," John Tiffany, May/June, p. 29.

## SEVERED HEADS OF THE SAMURAI



Severed heads, as samurai trophies of war, are illustrated in a woodblock-printed edition of the epic *Heike Monogatari*, the “*Tales of the Taira family*,” dealing with the great civil wars of the 12th century (right). *Heike Monogatari* is considered the greatest of the early classics of “*Gunkimono*,” the military chronicles. Above, a victorious samurai places his foot upon the severed head of an enemy in a scene from the same period.



Whereas aristocratic lineage was helpful in gaining followers for a samurai leader, success in battle was vital. A number of disturbances during the 10th and 11th centuries provided opportunities to prove one's worth. It is from the records of such expeditions that we get the earliest accounts of samurai values and behavior. The earliest of these, which produced perhaps the first written account of samurai, was the rebellion of Taira Masakado in 935. In a final battle, Masakado was



wounded by an arrow and fell from his horse, whereupon samurai Fujiwara Hidesato killed him and sent his head back to Kyoto.

Loyalty to the point of death demanded a reward, particularly when the commission was made on behalf of the government, and was expected in the form of grants of land to increase the warrior's holdings when the samurai returned bearing proof that the undertaking had been successfully completed. Throughout samurai history, the only fully acceptable proof of success was the presentation of the severed head of the rebel he had been sent out to chastise.



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## BOUND VOLUME IV (Year 1998—Six 72-page issues.)

**JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1998**—The truth about the Lebensborn “sex” camps; Stonewall Jackson resigns; Rousseau was wrong; Goering’s letters to Churchill; Soviet death camps; man in the New World for 250,000 years; “Wolf Children” of East Prussia; Anglo-German naval treaty; Gerald Nye’s farewell address; Agincourt—an early English war crime?; who created communism?; Billy the Kid’s great escape; an American Joan of Arc. *Not available as single issue.*

**MARCH/APRIL 1998**—Bonaparte’s invasion of Russia; the truth about Roger Casement; medieval devastation of Ireland; riddle of the dolmens; new look at Winston Churchill; no halfway neutrality; Hitler’s miscalculation; Emperor Norton; the Jewish soap myth; why is the holocaust important?

**MAY/JUNE 1998**—D-Day training disasters revealed; the rise and fall of Prussia; race relations in the Old South; Germany’s spy operations; the trial of Field Marshal von Manstein; Jews and the slave trade; women in Hitler’s Germany; the mob made FDR; ancient homeland of the Proto-Indo-European peoples; Admiral Kolchak’s revelations; Churchill’s alliance with Stalin. *Not available as single issue.*

**JULY/AUGUST 1998**—the surprising facts about Auschwitz; the Scythians; Germany’s plan to resettle Jews in Madagascar; wartime propaganda becomes historical fact; the truth about Walter Winchell; a history of Chechnya; Czech atrocities against ethnic Germans; eyewitnesses to Czech atrocities; a history of Zionist terrorism; Leon Degrelle on German-French relations; Father Coughlin on FDR; racial views of early American socialists.

**SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1998**—Unsolved mysteries of the Great Pyramid; mathematical mysteries of the Great Pyramid; evidence of Earth’s vanished civilization; America’s plan to invade Canada after WWI; the Sophists of ancient Athens; the birth of judicial tyranny; Adrian Arcand made a scapegoat; the Madagascar Plan, Part II; Leon Degrelle on France’s deal with Soviet Russia.

**NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1998**—a history of Leon Degrelle; the elusive Avars of the steppes; Ian Smith: bungler; rise and fall of Portuguese culture; France’s role in starting WWI; “Ironpants” Johnson on America’s entry into WWII; Indian atrocities; George Wallace; Madagascar Plan, Part III; Washington’s Thanksgiving Address; Teddy Roosevelt: American nationalist. *Not available as single issue.*

## BOUND VOLUME V (Year 1999—Six 72-page issues.)

**JANUARY/FEBRUARY 1999**—Puzzling origins of the Sumerians; is there a Negro race?; a short history of the peoples of Africa; the saga of the Celts; British propaganda 1939-1945; role of France and Russia in starting WWI, Part II; the white slave trade; myths and legends of the slave trade; the racial origins of the nations of the Old Testament; the Prague holocaust; Leon Degrelle on Adolf Hitler.

**MARCH/APRIL 1999**—Huey Long’s plan to share the wealth; Founding Fathers on aristocracy; the brainwashing of the modern German nation; the great patents heist; the questionable origins of the Jews; myths and facts about the Alamo; race relations in the antebellum South; who was right in the Civil War?; Edward VII’s debts to the moneylenders; H.S. Chamberlain; German-Americans interned in the U.S. during WWII. *Not available as single issue.*

**MAY/JUNE 1999**—the saga of Kennewick Man; Britain’s belligerent history; Churchill’s war plans against Stalin; Vichy French newsreels; remarkable quotes about the Germans; who started the mass civilian bombings of WWII?; La Perouse: history’s forgotten explorer; enigmatic General Andrei Vlasov; myth of Mencken’s anti-Semitism; should Plutocrats dictate foreign policy?; the Munich Putsch.

**JULY/AUGUST 1999**—Admiral Yamamoto and the Battle of Midway; voyages to the New World before Columbus; Hittites, Minoans and Mykenaeans; a warning to America from Benjamin Freedman; the tragedy of the 20th century; Basil Zaharoff: the high priest of war; Abraham Lincoln on the warpath; Germany’s 1923 hyperinflation; the Beer Hall Fusillade.

**SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1999**—America’s first accidental president; how America’s money was undermined; the continuing “reeducation” of Germany; British war crimes of WWI and WWII; Harry Elmer Barnes on the bitter fruits of “globaloney”; Gulf of Tonkin incident reexamined; where did the Vikings settle in the New World?; truth about Auschwitz; the real David Duke; the Shroud of Turin; Hitler’s would-be revolution dies.

**NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1999**—FDR’s mass sedition trial of 1944; the mothers of the America-First movement; Montana’s role in non-intervention; America’s money undermined: Part II; censorship in modern Germany; little-known facts about the pogroms of old Russia; Christianity’s place in National Socialist Germany; a history of the Entente Cordiale; the sophistication of the early inhabitants of prehistoric Northern Europe; could more holocaust victims have been saved?; the Allies break the preliminary peace pact of 1918.

## BOUND VOLUME VI (Year 2000—Six 72-page issues.)

*No SINGLE issues of May/June available.*

**JANUARY/FEBRUARY 2000**—Man of the Millennia: Hermann’s victory over the Romans; the origins of the Balfour Declaration; the folly of international intervention; a new look at Carroll Quigley’s *Tragedy and Hope*; the man who might have been president; Bay of Pigs insider reveals hidden secrets; the Negro in America and Europe; Adolf Hitler goes to trial for treason; the American vigilante tradition.

**MARCH/APRIL 2000**—Woodrow Wilson: American Nero; William Jennings Bryan on internationalism; the strange life of Simon Girty; the Jewish survival strategy: excerpts from Kevin MacDonald; Revisionism on trial: David Irving; a history of Albania; the German-American Bund; sedition then and now; a history of Subhas Chandra Bose; Leon Degrelle on the trapsetters of Geneva.

**MAY/JUNE 2000 (Not available as single issue)**—Did Truman need to drop the bomb?; the role of money in Rome’s decline; the pity of WWI; experiences of a Jew in Nazi Germany; George Washington vs. Woodrow Wilson; Britain’s propaganda network; Stalin’s purge of the Red Army; holocaust education in the public school system; Doc Holliday: sagebrush samurai; Leon Degrelle on the 1932 Geneva Conference.

**JULY/AUGUST 2000**—China’s ancient white ancestors; the mysterious Tokharians; the reign of “King” Andrew Johnson; Reds infiltrate the OSS; reflections on medieval history; historic Germany is still alive; Hitler’s war record clarified; old men rounded up as war criminals; a true history of Nicholas II; the hapless plight of the Boers; Anglo-Afrikaners; Joe Sobran on Abe Lincoln: the Great Extremist; Germans held for slave labor after WWII; burial at the league of nations.

**SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 2000**—a new look at Ivan the Terrible; Josef Stalin; mysterious civilization of the Indus River Valley; North Carolina’s War of the Regulation; mass expulsion of German citizens after WWII; William Henry Harrison: prescient populist; the fraud of Zionism; role of the Jesuit movement; Eoin O’Duffy; Jaap Marais; Adolf Hitler’s war strategy.

**NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2000**—a history of monarchy; Corneliu Codreanu; Operation Barbarossa; Stalin’s secret war plans; Finland resists the Soviet invasion; what about *habeas corpus*?; a history of debt-free money; Wisconsin’s sunken, ancient city; the Spanish Inquisition.





# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

There is little doubt Rudolf Hess flew to Scotland to try to achieve peace between two brother nations. While we may question the actions of some Germans in the way they carried out their duties in the war (in the same way we may question the roles of many on the Allied side), there is little doubt that Hess acted out of conviction and took a real gamble—for peace. American readers may be interested to know that a few years ago the farmer who owns the land gave permission for a stone monument to be erected on the spot where Hess landed. The monument paid homage to Hess and his mission and became known as the “Peace Stone.” Unfortunately some extremists took it upon themselves to bedaub the monument, cover it in propaganda posters, and then one Ameer Anwar of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party smashed the stone with a sledgehammer. This was on November 18, 1993.

All was carried out in front of TV cameras. A Scottish newspaper, *The Daily Record*, carried a picture of the Asian student the very next day, complete with his sledgehammer. All took place on private land—and yet Mr. Anwar was never prosecuted. Mr. Anwar is now a trainee solicitor and has become a hate figure in Scotland as he tries to stir up any event and make it “racist.” When a monument to communists who took part in the Spanish Civil War was damaged by burning tires in the Welsh capital, Cardiff, the local newspaper, *The South Wales Echo*, treated it as a criminal act almost beyond compare. Of course, the communist volunteers went to join an army which regularly shot, tortured and mutilated Spanish men, women and children. They also had a penchant for desecrating

churches, digging up religious corpses and torturing and murdering priests and nuns. Isn't it amusing how a monument to a prisoner of peace can be smashed with much acclaim by the media, and yet a monument to Red terror brought forth copious amounts of tears from the same brand of media? I hope your features on Hess will make more people aware of the dangerous mission he undertook and his reason for doing so—i.e. to end a fratricidal war. Those wishing for more information on the Hess Peace Stone can read an article on the events around it in #7 of *Final Conflict* magazine.

J. HUMPHREYS  
LONDON

I would be most interested in reading more on the major Allied leaders of World War II, with all of the errors, lies and bad faith.

RICHARD LOCILENTO  
MIAMI SPRINGS, FLORIDA

I would like to commend the editorial staff of TBR for having the intestinal fortitude in this mendacious world to expose the holocaust fraud in the Jan./Feb. issue. Every article is a prime example of responsible journalism. The holocaust, which may not be freely debated, has become an instrument of a colossal extortion on an unimaginable scale. Whole countries have succumbed to it, not on principle or on account of guilt, but through pressure from crooked politicians and lawyers. This could only have happened in countries where people have been subjected to such unrelenting indoctrination from the compliant media that they believe everything. The holocaust is the only dogma

that may not be debated. In some vassal states, those who question the holocaust may lose their jobs, be fined or jailed or all three. However, thinking people are coming to the conclusion that only lies need the protection of the law; truth can stand on its own feet. I spent five years in the Canadian army during World War II and never heard of a holocaust until 1967, and neither did anyone else of my generation. Where was it during and 25 years after the war? The special holocaust edition of TBR is a treasury of rational reasoning that can stand up to any inquiry. I suggest it be given to students who are subjected to holocaust studies in U.S. school. To the editors and writers of TBR: Thank you for awakening the world to “the hoax of the 20th century.”

FRANK SCHMIDT  
TORONTO, ONTARIO

I was most interested in the splendid article about Albert Einstein's plagiarism in your May/June issue. May I just add a footnote about the myth that Einstein was forced to flee Germany because of Nazi intolerance/terror? The truth is, as reported in *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* on October 11, 1932:

**Albert Einstein accepted an appointment for life, as head of the School of Mathematics of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. The institute is to open next autumn. Professor Einstein will live in Princeton and will visit Germany each year.**

Hitler, of course, did not become chancellor until January 30, 1933, and then only as head of a coalition government in which the Nazis held just three of 11 cabinet posts.

ROBERT SMYTH  
WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA, ENGLAND

I was riffling through a pile of magazines at my father-in-law's house and came across the most recent issue of your fine publication. I enjoyed the articles but balked at the idea that this was Revisionist history; seems to me this is history un-revised. Then I came across the article on Einstein. I can only assume that no other physicists read your magazine.

I liked your references to the “court historians.” Let me warn you about the “court scientists.” These are the sycophantic weasels who suppress, alter and discredit the work of real scientists to make the scientific view of the world fit their own views or the views of whatever moneyed power they are trying to impress this week (usually some government grant bureaucracy). So let me tell you what the court scientists did with the Michelson-Morely exper-

## MORE ABOUT THORFINN KARLSEFNI

In the September/October TBR, we reprinted a new translation of one of the ancient Viking sagas. We realize now that many of you may not know who Viking explorer Thorfinn Karlsefni was. The name of this voyager to the New World deservedly rivals that of Leif Eriksson, thanks to his daring, perseverance, sagacity and accomplishments. Thorfinn saw more of North America than any other known Viking. Three manuscript sources tell his story: the *Flateyarbók*, or what is sometimes called *The Greenland Saga*; the *Karlsefni Saga* in *Hauk's Book*, which is now in the Arna Magnaeon Collection in the Library of the University of Copenhagen, and which is an Icelandic saga written down by the lawman Hauk Erlendsson, who died in 1334 and was a ninth lineal descendant of Thorfinn, and a variant of the *Hauk's Book* version in a manuscript known by its Arna Magnaeon Collection number, A.M.557.4-to, and sometimes called *The Saga of Erik the Red*. Frederick J. Pohl, in his *Atlantic Crossings Before Columbus* (1961; WW. Norton & Co. Inc., N.Y.), having compared the three versions, resolved their differences and presented a combined version. He concluded that Karlsefni had spent four winters in America and had traveled to the Chesapeake Bay, and the Hudson River and Long Island in the present-day state of New York, where he encountered corn (maize) being grown by the natives and discovered (albeit without naming them) the Appalachian Mountains.

(Continued on following page)



# MORE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from previous page)

iment. The experiment was first performed in Berlin in 1881 by A.A. Michelson and later refined in 1887 by Michelson and E.W. Morley in the United States at Mount Palomar near Pasadena where I grew up. It has been performed many times since then. The object of the experiment is to split a beam of light and make the two parts travel perpendicular to each other with mirrors and then rejoin the two parts to see if there was any interference pattern which would indicate that the beams were out of sync, one having traveled faster than the other. Each time the experiment is conducted an interference pattern appears. Go to <http://physicsstudio.indstate.edu/swez/MPLab/Mod%20Phys%20Lab%20Additions/Michaelson/michelson.html> and see how to conduct the experiment for yourself. At that site they show an actual picture of the interference pattern.

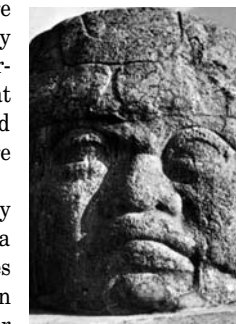
The court scientists have chosen to call this obvious interference pattern a "fringe pattern," a term which means absolutely nothing. The idiots decided that the obvious interference pattern was insignificant because the ether theory was in conflict with the nonsense they were foisting on the public at the time. The fact that the interference pattern changed depending

upon the direction of the experiment and in a fashion congruent with the ether theory did not change the fact that the ether theory was inconvenient to the court scientists.

So generations of scientists are sitting in their expensive university chairs, looking at an obvious interference pattern, and being told that it's a "fringe pattern." The word "googlyfarb" probably means more than the term "fringe pattern."

At any rate, Einstein actually proposed the speed of light as a "Universal Constant," which does not explain why light slows when passing through a cloud of dust or gas and then speeds up again when it comes out the other side. Nor does it explain why stars moving away from a viewer shift red, but that's the theory the court scientists liked at the time.

Idiocy, dishonesty, fanaticism and narrow-mindedness do not follow racial or national boundaries. You find the dregs of humanity in every nation and in every race. My favorite Einstein quote: "The difference between genius and stupidity is that genius has its limits."



ROB COMBS  
ADDRESS WITHHELD

A great Olmec stone face, whose most significant feature is its mouth, was located at the Universidad Veracruzana's Anthropology Museum in Xalapa, Mexico. The mouth is formed by two serpents' heads that meet precisely in the middle of the upper lip. Thus it was the Olmec themselves who clarified the meaning of the trapezoidal shaped mouth which appears frequently in their stylized human images and is often mistakenly identified as that of a jaguar. The wide upper lip can be explained by the need to create an appropriate space for the figures of two serpent heads that face each other. When the Olmec carved lifelike faces, such as the colossal heads at La Venta, we observe the same wide upper lip. This is the feature that led the first scientists who mentioned them to mistakenly identify the heads as those of Africans. Thus, if both the stylized Olmec faces, as well as the lifelike ones, have a wide space above the upper lip, we can assume that an analogous wide space is intended to achieve the same end result.

RUBÉN BONIFAZ NUNO  
MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

## Books Received Books Received Books Received Books Received

**Walicki, Andrzej. 1989.** *The Slavophile Controversy*. University of Notre Dame Press. 609 pages. ISBN 0 268 01734 4—An excellent and massively comprehensive look at classical Russian nationalism in the 19th century. This work examines the Slavophile movement in Russia from its predecessors under Catherine the Great until their unraveling in the late 19th century with the phenomenon of pan-Slavism, a strange messianic perversion of Slavophilism. Presently, this is the standard work on the history of Slavophilism. The author clearly has a solid grasp of philosophical concepts, an absolutely necessary trait for those wishing to approach the political and religious thought of 19th-century Russia. Further, the book quite brilliantly lays out the foundations for the creation of the Slavophile movement and the Slavophiles' compatriots within other rival schools of thought. This work is deep and dense and cannot be approached by beginners.

**Berman, Morris. 2000.** *The Twilight of American Culture*. W.W. Norton and Company. 205 pages. ISBN 0 393 04879 9—One of many books exposing the collapse of American society. In his discussion, Berman refuses to speak of multiculturalism, anti-white racism, massive Third-World immigration and mobilization of anti-American minorities for elite gains. Such an omission is telling. Little new material is presented here. The "decay of American culture" is now a genre in itself, with its own set of dilettantes who flatter the self-styled "literate" population by explicating a "traditional" mind set that is not tradition at all, but tradition transformed into an ideology, and, in the case of Berman, tradition reinterpreted in such a way that it does not encompass the ethnic and racial community that Western civilization was built upon. America's plastic society has succeeded in creating an antithesis of its own, a plastic critique.

**Whitehead, Kenneth. 2000.** *One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic*. Ignatius—**Whelton, Michael. 1998.** *Two Paths: Papal Monarchy—*

*Collegial Tradition*. Regina. 215 pages. ISBN: 0 9649141 5 8

These are the latest two works of ancient Christian history in the debate between Orthodoxy and Catholicism concerning the historical role of the papacy in the early church. For Catholics, the First Vatican Council claimed that papal monarchy was not a doctrinal development, but rather had existed uninterruptedly from the earliest days of the church. Thus, Catholics have found it necessary to discover the absolutist role of the pope in the early Christian church. *One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic* is a well-written work of history that attempts to do just that. Whelton's work *Two Paths* offers the opposing view that the ancient church did not recognize any special authority to the See of Rome and in fact condemned her for doctrinal heresy many times. Both are well worth reading, and both are necessary reading for those wanting a balanced approach to this major issue in ecclesiology, church history and European history.

**Dunnigan, James F. 1999.** *Dirty Little Secrets of the Twentieth Century*. Quill. 319 pages. ISBN 0 688 17068 4—A general work on cultural analysis, which is quite well written. Basically, the purpose here is to understand the sociological changes that have taken place in the 20th century in terms of technology, attitudes and opportunities. Written for beginners (that is, a general audience), it is never boring.

**Hyland, Gary and Anton Gill. 1998.** *Last Talons of the Eagle*. Headline. 373 pages. ISBN 0 7472 5964 X—TBR readers are well aware of the "Great Patents Heist" committed by the Allies after World War II. The German people were involved in military inventiveness unparalleled anywhere else on the globe, or at any time in history. Among other things, new models of airplanes and new sorts of super weapons were in various stages of production that would have won the war for Germany had they been permitted to develop.

— M. RAPHAEL JOHNSON